'Shaking the bones of the monster' : radical Christianity in Britain 1967-1978

Price-Davies, Eryl Wynn

"SHAKING THE BONES OF THE MONSTER":
RADICAL CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN 1967 –1978

ERYL PRICE-DAVIES

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"Shake the bones of the existing monster: for example: hire a police officer's uniform, walk into a crowded church and announce to the congregation that a group calling themselves Christians are outside trying to sell off the congregation's cars for the Medical Aid for Vietnam fund. When they all disappear and run into the street, sit on the chancel steps and wait for them to come back; hold a discussion with them."

The Catonsville Roadrunner, December 1969

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For Bethan and Ieuan.

ABSTRACT

TITLE OF THESIS:

'SHAKING THE BONES OF THE MONSTER'
- RADICAL CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN 1967-1978

This thesis examines the activities of a distinctive group of self-styled radical Christians in Britain during the period 1967-1978. The groups activities are described in three overlapping, yet connected phases, each of which provides evidence of their efforts to both define their project in more detail, and to disseminate it to a wider audience.

The first phase - organised under the banner CHURCH, an acronym for 'Christian United Radical Church' - centres on the use of flamboyant dramatic protest to draw attention to a range of issues including the Vietnam War, homelessness, poverty, and the role of the institutional church in Britain, especially the Church of England. The second phase concerns the publication of a magazine – '*The Catonsville Roadrunner*' – designed to act as a 'notice-board' for radical Christian thought and activities. The final phase was the establishment of an 'experiment in community', under the auspices of the Student Christian Movement (SCM), at Wick Court, near Bristol.

It is argued that these activities provide evidence of efforts to articulate an emergent *structure of feeling* – a concept developed by Raymond Williams – and to further make a case for the wider applicability of this concept in cultural analysis.

The research has drawn on a wide range of primary and secondary textual sources – such as *The Catonsville Roadrunner*, contemporary press coverage, journal articles, books, and access to the SCM archives. It has also made considerable use of in-depth interviews conducted with several of the main participants at the time.

The thesis thus offers both an historical account of the activities of these radical Christians, and an attempt to locate and evaluate them through the perspective of a specific theoretical discourse.

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

'SHAKING THE BONES OF THE MONSTER' – RADICAL CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN 1967-1978

Praxis **(prak'-sis)** ***n.*** **practice; an example for practice [G., fr.** ***prassein*****, do]**

(The British Dictionary – Odhams Press Limited, London, 1933)

This thesis examines the activities of a distinctive group of self-styled radical Christians in Britain during the period 1967-1978. The groups activities are described in three connected phases, each of which provides evidence of their efforts to both define their project in more detail, and to disseminate it to a wider audience. By close readings of a variety of 'texts'[1] – both those produced by the group themselves, and those produced by others – it will be shown that whilst at times seemingly appearing disconnected and diverse, it is possible to discern some unifying themes across a number of cultural activities, which can be described as a project in the praxis of radical Christianity. The range of this praxis included: street theatre, liturgical innovation, magazine publishing, direct political action, non-violent protest, 'experiments' in communal living, and the running of a national organisation, The Student Christian Movement (SCM), and took place in both domestic and international contexts. Each of these 'threads' contributes to an overall tapestry which was both densely woven and intricate, and whilst in some ways the project can be said to have failed to realise its full potential, that does not mean that it was a 'failure'. Although uneven, there were 'successes' too, and any meaningful assessment would need to recognise these as well.

In part this is a work of definition – since both 'radicalism' and 'Christianity' are terms which require careful clarification in this context. Neither can be taken for granted as self-evident, and it will be shown that one continuing element of the praxis was the effort to re-define the possible ways to think through these terms and their connections. Much of this effort, for example, was devoted to a thorough critique of the concept of 'community', and how it could be realised in practical

ways that did not reproduce the hierarchies and inequalities that the radical Christians were seeking to eradicate.

This work thus sets out to examine selected aspects of a remarkable convergence - the coming together of a distinctive form of radical politics, with an equally distinctive form of Christianity, in a period from 1967 to 1978. This time frame overlaps with 'The Sixties', which has become synonymous with turbulent youth protests on an international level. This periodisation is not, however, meant to be wholly authoritative, since periodising is notoriously fraught with difficulties, and is in any case a somewhat artificial method of conceptualising historical data. [2] While it is clear that certain key influences and debates that require examination do not fit neatly into this timescale, it is nevertheless apparent that the years in question saw the most explicit manifestations of this specific form of Christian radicalism, and that they drew inspiration from the broader currents flowing in youth culture at the time.

In particular it is possible to discern three dovetailed phases during this period: the formation of CHURCH, an acronym for CHristian United Radical CHurch; the publication of a magazine, *The Catonsville Roadrunner*; and the establishment of an 'experiment in community' and new national headquarters for the Student Christian Movement, at Wick Court, near Bristol. These phases were not discrete, nor self-contained, indeed there was considerable continuity, in terms of personnel, activity, and ideology, between them. The central characteristic was the overriding concern with practical applied Christianity in action - but it is clear that the ways in which this was articulated varied considerably.

The first phase, discussed in chapter four, was organised under the banner CHURCH, and centred on the use of flamboyant strategies to draw attention to a range of political issues, including the Vietnam war, homelessness, poverty and the role of the institutional church in Britain,

especially the Church of England. This phase saw radical Christian activists involved in protests including: demonstrations at local churches in Newbury; the pasting of 'black dollars' on the pavement in Bromley to dramatise the cost of war; an attempted 'blockade' of an American Air Force base in Ruislip; 'interrupting' a Billy Graham rally at Earls Court; a protest staged in Mayakovsky Square, Moscow, to draw attention to the plight of political prisoners held in Soviet jails; the 'invasion' of the Lambeth Conference in 1968; the occupation of a US military chapel in Grosvenor Square; and the attempted 'liberation' of St. Paul's Cathedral in protest at the holding of a service dedicated to a regiment of the British Army.

CHURCH operated a radically de-centred anti-organisational structure, with no formal 'membership', or committee structure. Instead anyone, who broadly shared the perspectives that CHURCH expressed in their 'manifesto', could use the label for their own activities. There was even headed notepaper available to help publicise these events. The main focus was on building alternative approaches to direct political action by dramatising protests to secure the maximum possible media attention. Thus the 'playpower' influence of the *Yippies* and the *Situationist International* [3] can be clearly seen. CHURCH's success lay in its ability to attract attention to itself, and to play a non-directive coordinating role for radical Christians around Britain. In this way it provided an invaluable point of connection, and acted as the vital springboard for the launching of subsequent phases of activity.

The second of these phases, discussed in chapter five, saw the publication of a magazine known as *The Catonsville Roadrunner.* This took its title from the actions of a group of Catholic protestors in the United States, including the Berrigan Brothers, Philip and Daniel, who had invaded a local U.S. Army draft office in Catonsville, Maryland, destroying military records, using home-made 'Napalm' and phials of their own blood. [4] This action so inspired the British radicals that they committed themselves to 'running on the road to Catonsville'. This

journey saw sixty issues of the magazine produced. Starting in 1969, the first thirty or so issues were produced by an editorial board based in London that grew out of the CHURCH group. The magazine then shifted its publication base to Manchester in 1972, where it was taken over by a group who had previously been involved with the radical Catholic journal *Slant*. [5] The final five issues were produced again in London, where it ceased publication in 1975. Throughout the early years of its existence in particular *Roadrunner* attempted to act as a 'notice board' for radical Christian thought and activities, and to provide a focus for sympathetic radical Christians across the UK.

Stylistically, *Roadrunner* closely resembled other 'underground' magazines and newspapers at the time, especially in its use of graphics, images and language. It was part of two distribution networks, *Cosmic Overground Syndicated Magazine Interchange Co-operative* (COSMIC), and later the *Underground Press Syndicate* (UPS), which operated internationally, and allowed for the sharing of articles and information. [6] These connections drew criticism from some quarters – and there was considerable debate in the letters pages about the appropriate use of language, and the relevance of certain articles. Yet, despite these connections with the secular underground press, *Roadrunner* also represented a sustained engagement with a number of distinctive radical Christian issues, such as the role of the institutional church, the need for an alternative church, styled as the *Liberated Life Church*, and the importance of the figure of 'Christ the Radical'. It also dealt extensively with tactical debates about the use of non-violence in political campaigning, the importance of establishing communes as centres for radical Christian activity, and the establishment of a national network through the use of 'runners'. In order to explore these coherently, chapter five concentrates on three central themes: Theology, Community, and Praxis. What this enables is a discussion of the different ways in which each theme was expressed in the pages of the magazine, and an assessment of their importance to the radical Christian project.

The final phase, discussed in chapter six, saw some of the radical activists take over the running of the Student Christian Movement (SCM), and relocate its headquarters from London to a Jacobean mansion in a village called Wick, near Bristol. During this phase, they sought to live out their commitment to radical Christianity by establishing an 'experiment in community' within the SCM, whilst at the same time attempting to manage and organise the affairs of SCM nationally. These actions resulted in a prolonged and often bitter power struggle for ultimate control of the organisation, where senior former SCM members, who formed the Trust Association Executive Committee, attempted to regain the management of the finances and direction of what they perceived as a movement out of control. Despite this conflict, and the ultimate demise of the 'experiment' in 1978, this phase also gave rise to a number of significant projects, including some well-attended conferences, and attempts to re-cast the mould of radical Christianity in a more clearly communal setting, with the intention of providing an example for others to follow.

A convergence of Christian faith and politics in itself is hardly unique, indeed the history of Christianity is marked by many and varied attempts to reconcile faith with a concern for social justice in this world. The Levellers, the Diggers, the Quakers, and many other movements, especially perhaps the Christian Socialists in the earlier years of the twentieth century, are all examples of the complex ways in which different Christian groups have attempted to apply their beliefs to specific social circumstances, and to effect radical, even revolutionary, change. [7] What, however, makes the radicals in the 1960's/70's so interesting, is their abiding concern with culture as an area of struggle, and their rejection of rigid definitions of either political action, or of Christianity itself. This thesis concerns itself with examining in detail their specific mobilisations of popular cultural forms and practices which characterised their efforts to express their radical Christianity. The forms of these cultural interventions, and the venues/sites of their

practice will also be considered, in ways which attempt to situate the activities in a cultural context.

Whilst this is not purely an historical reconstruction, the research has involved collecting information, and interviewing several of those actively involved at the time, with the aim of gaining a sense of the range of activities, and their sequence during the period under study. Any simple listing of events and strategies runs the risk of implying causality, that is to say, that one event followed another 'naturally', and that there was a process of evolution through time which is somehow inevitable, and self-explanatory. The reality of lived cultural experience is more complex, and time and again it can be seen that there are moments of rupture, of fragmentation, and of discontinuity, which are just as revealing (if not more so) than any straightforward listing.

Having noted the risks, it is, however, clear that there is a story to be narrated. A story that does not seek to explain the elements it contains in terms of simple continuity, neither does it present the events as purely random, and occurring by chance, rather one in which the complexities and the contradictions are left intact. This is not to abdicate from the very necessary task of explanation, and to offer only description, instead this thesis needs to be understood as an exercise which draws some of the boundaries, and maps the key influences. Crucial to this are two elements.

The first of these, discussed in chapter three, relates to the cultural contexts within, and even against which the radicals were operating. This is essential since it would be misleading to view their activities as existing in a vacuum, and it is important to demonstrate the influence of other discursive frameworks, both implicit and explicit, operating at the time. The chapter is organised under four broad headings, which are Jesus Movements; Radical Theology; Radical Christianity; and The Counter Culture.

The 1960/70's saw a remarkable upsurge of interest in youth culture with the figure of Jesus, and the emergence of a number of very different groups committed to extending or capitalising on this. Closer inspection, however, reveals a series of often conflicting motivations underlying these efforts, and it is important to distinguish between the various groups in order to understand more completely the distinctions between them. The radical Christians, whilst operating simultaneously as such groups as the *Festival of Light*, were diametrically opposed to their message, and were actively involved with secular campaigns such as the *Festival of Life*, set up to disrupt and ridicule the activities of Mary Whitehouse, Lord Longford and others.

This period also saw the emergence of radical theology, which was often referred to by titles such as 'religionless Christianity' or 'secular Christianity'.[8] Although much of this was not particularly new, or even especially clearly expressed, it did nonetheless offer a potentially important set of perspectives to the radicals. Amongst the authors discussed in this section are John Robinson, Thomas Altizer, William Hamilton and Harvey Cox. Each of these has been chosen since they contributed in some way to the so-called 'crisis in the churches'. It will be shown that they did not form anything resembling a 'school', and that they relied at times on some mutually incompatible understandings. Yet, Robinson's espousal of 'situation ethics', Altizer and Hamilton's proclamation of the 'Death of God', and Cox's enthusiastic embrace of the 'Secular City' were important markers of the fact that radical Christianity was not an isolated phenomenon, but rather one that had far-reaching implications.

As already noted, the synthesis of radicalism and Christianity has many antecedents, and it is important to consider some earlier efforts to synthesize a commitment to radical politics with a Christian faith. A number of groups are discussed, including organisations such as the *Catholic Crusade*, which operated in the early twentieth-century, under the control of its autocratic leader, Conrad Noel. The aim of this section

is not to argue that there are any direct parallels to be drawn between the different groups, but to provide a background to the thought and praxis of the radicals in the 1960/70's. This section also includes an analysis of the journal *Slant*, drawing on an extensive interview with one of its most prominent editors, Terry Eagleton,[9] and discussion of selected themes from the back issues.

The final theme discussed in chapter three is that of the 'counter culture'. This is the area where the most direct connections can be drawn between the praxis of the radical Christians and the broader currents of youth culture at the time. For some commentators during this period, notably Kenneth Leech,[10] the British radical Christians were little more than 'pale imitators' of either the secular radical press, or religious leaders in America such as Dick York, pastor of the Free Church in Berkeley, California. It will be shown, however, that this assessment is not only too harsh, but that it also fails to grasp the specifics of the praxis being articulated in a British context. Certainly there were superficial similarities between the *Roadrunner* and magazines such as *OZ*, *Gandalf's Garden*, and *IT*. Just as there were similarities between the use of political protest and liturgies by Dick York in Berkeley, and CHURCH in the UK. Yet there were a number of crucial differences as well, such as the meaning of 'community' and debates around the use of non-violent tactics in political campaigning, which this section highlights more fully.

The final vital element is the task of making sense of all these disparate activities, and of attempting to offer a theoretical perspective which can help to locate and evaluate them. At times academic analyses can result in a ordering of information that presents it too neatly gift-wrapped, lacking the rough edges and dead-ends that any lived culture experiences. Instead, an engagement is needed which revels in, and recognises the mess - one that refuses to dust. Popular culture is often untidy - loose ends proliferate; contradictions abound, and yet are lived through with practised ease. It is the flimsiness of these daily

experiences that are so hard to grasp - yet they are the essential features that give any culture its specific qualities and dynamic. Catching the ebb and flow of these dynamics is not by any means straightforward, yet it is vital that it at least be attempted.

One of the most sustained and engaged attempts to grapple with the lived experience of culture was the concept of '*structures of feeling*', developed by Raymond Williams.[11] Chapter two offers a detailed account of the evolution of this concept, from its first use by Williams in his book *Preface to Film*, co-written with Michael Orrom in 1954, to its fullest exposition in *Marxism and Literature* written in 1980. For Williams the explanatory power of '*structures of feeling*' lay in the way it enables cultural analysis to recognise and thus account for both the formal structures that operate within any cultural context, and also the feelings of those involved. Thus structures are not simply 'determining', nor are feelings just simply 'responses'. There is a more complex process of interactions at play, which depend on struggle as their key dynamic.

Williams suggested a number of different levels at which a *structure of feeling* might be discernable. These are: the '*archaic*', the '*residual*', the '*dominant*', the '*emergent*' and the '*pre-emergent*'. Aspects of each of these may be evident in any social formation, yet it is the dominant that often receives the most attention, since it is both more formally expressed, and thus recoverable from conventional historical analysis, and also supported by powerful infrastructures. The emergent and pre-emergent are where new challenges to the dominant take shape. This does not depend on mere novelty – which may be an aspect of the dominant *structure of feeling* expressed in different ways – but on genuinely oppositional forms of thinking and feeling, which seek outlets in new forms of cultural activity. These may, however, draw on the experiences of the past:

> 'Certain experiences, meanings, and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of the dominant culture, are nonetheless lived and practised on the basis of the residue – cultural as well as social – of some previous social and cultural institution or formation...and which

still seem to have significance because they represent areas of human experience, aspiration and achievement which the dominant culture neglects, undervalues, opposes, represses, or even cannot recognise.' [12]

Hence Williams sought to demonstrate that political struggle was a process of cultural imagining rather than simply a reflex reaction against perceived oppression. This is as much to do with expressing the creative possibilities of social change as with the more direct confrontations that characterise traditional political activity. Williams also argued that:

"A culture has two aspects: the known meanings and directions, which its members are trained to; the new observations and meanings which are offered and tested." [13]

It is this process of testing and offering that characterises the pre-emergent. Not all pre-emergent *structures of feeling*, however, inevitably become emergent, and thus able to clearly articulate their new ways of thinking and feeling to a significant wider audience. Some remain blocked or are more actively marginalized. Nonetheless, according to Williams, cultural analysis should be open to discovering the nuances of pre-emergent *structures of feeling*, as the embryonic seeds of change.

This concept has its critics, and the final section of chapter two addresses these directly. It does so by focussing on comments made by three of Williams' closest political allies, E.P Thompson, Stuart Hall, and Terry Eagleton. The case made by each is examined in turn, and some of the qualifications and fine-tuning that they suggest are welcomed, yet it is argued overall that it would be wrong to overlook the sophisticated and subtle explanatory value of *structures of feeling*. This chapter thus makes the case for the validity of *structures of feeling* as a viable and important theoretical tool.

In analysing the activities of these radical Christians it soon becomes clear that there was no simple coherent 'metanarrative' to these moments. The lived experience during the period in question was clearly marked by discontinuities and sparks of rupture – this was no seamless robe. It is also clear, nonetheless, that the moments were not completely

isolated and that each drew on the others in a variety of ways. The ways in which 'theory' and 'practice' interconnected and formed a dialect gives rise to the description of 'praxis'. Making sense of this methodologically has involved detailed readings of a wide range of primary and secondary textual sources – such as the complete back catalogue of *The Catonsville Roadrunner*, contemporary newspaper coverage, journal articles, books, and extended access to material from the SCM archives. It has also involved a series of lengthy in-depth interviews with many of the personnel most closely involved at the time, including Viv Broughton, Jan Broughton (née Hammond), John Careswell, Peter Lumsden, David Hart, Valerie Hart, Tony Jasper, Tim McClure, Ken Leech, John Duncan and Terry Eagleton. [14]

The result is an analysis which combines scrutiny of the source material with the 'recollection in tranquillity' of some of the prime movers. As such it relies on both textual 'evidence' and personal memory. This form of cultural analysis derives more from the interdisciplinary approach of Cultural Studies, than the approach of the Sociology of Culture. Thus the emphasis is on culture as the 'lived experience of a whole way of life' or even a 'whole way of struggle', rather than simply the 'symbolic-expressive aspects of human behaviour'. [15]

Structures of feeling is the lens through which the activities of the radical Christians are examined, and in each of the chapters that directly discusses these, attempts are made to show how they provide evidence of their multi-faceted struggle to articulate an emergent *structure of feeling*. This thesis is thus both a work of historical recovery, involving the documenting of a fascinating series of moments in the history of radical Christianity, and also an attempt to mobilise an under-valued theoretical construct - one that enables a more fully formed understanding of the activities of the radical Christians who were trying to 'shake the bones of the monster'.

Footnotes to Introduction:

[1] I employ the term 'texts' to refer to any signifying practice. See: Morley, Dave (1978) 'Texts, Readers, Subjects' in Hall, Stuart et al. (eds.) (1980) *Culture, Media, Language,* London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd.,

[2] Marwick, Arthur (1998)) *The Sixties,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.5

[3] See: Neville, Richard (1971) *Playpower*, London: Paladin, and Green, Jonathan (1999) *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counterculture,* London: Pimlico

[4] Polner, Murray and O'Grady, Jim (1997) *Disarmed and Dangerous: The Radical Lives and Times of Daniel and Philip Berrigan*, USA: Basic Books, pp.195-217

[5] See: Wicker, Brian (1967) *First the Political Kingdom: A Personal Appraisal of the Catholic Left in Britain*, London: Sheed & Ward

[6] See: Nelson, E. (1989) *The British Counter-Culture 1966-73: A Study of the Underground Press,* London: Macmillan

[7] See: Rowland, Christopher (1988) *Radical Christianity: A Reading of Recovery*, Cambridge: Polity Press

[8] See: Mehta, Ved (ed.) (1968) *The New Theologian*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd,

[9] Regan, S (1998) *The Eagleton Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd.

[10] Ken Leech ran St.Anne's in Soho, central London, and was actively involved in working with drug addicts throughout the period under discussion in this thesis. He was also a tireless chronicler of the 'counter-culture' as well as the activities of a number of religious groups operating at this time, including those analysed here. See: Leech, Kenneth (1973a) *Youthquake*: *The Growth of a Counter-Culture through Two Decades*, London: Sheldon Press Ltd.

[11] A prolific writer of both academic and literary works, Williams (1921-1988) is widely regarded (along with Richard Hoggart) as one of the founders of Cultural Studies. For an extensive bibliography of Williams' writings see: O'Connor, Alan (1989) *Raymond Williams: Writing, Culture, Politics,* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp.128-175

[12] Williams, Raymond (1977) *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.122

[13] Williams, Raymond (1958) 'Culture is Ordinary' in Williams, Raymond (1989) *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism,* ed. Robin Gable, London: Verso, p.4

[14] All the interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis, during which they were tape recorded and subsequently transcribed. Several interviewees – notably John Careswell, Viv Broughton, Jan Broughton, and David Hart, gave me access to their own personal archives of material from this period. Tim McClure (General Secretary of the SCM at the time of the interview) also granted me extended access to the SCM archives relating to Wick Court.

[15] Wuthnow, Robert et al (eds.) (1984) *Cultural Analysis*, London: Routledge, p.3

CHAPTER TWO:

"STRUCTURES OF FEELING"

Introduction

The central theoretical concern that this research seeks to interrogate relates to the work of Raymond Williams, and in particular his concept of *structures of feeling*. This formulation and varied attempts at its definition form a continuity in Williams' writing, both academic and literary, across forty years. Whilst there will not be space here to do justice to the full breadth and depth of thinking involved, nor the diverse range of cultural forms and practices to which it has been applied, by Williams himself and by others, ranging through Theatre, Cinema, Television, Advertising, Novels, and much else besides, [1] I want to examine the concept for its usefulness in understanding aspects of the cultural practices produced by, and producing, the radical Christianity under discussion.

In order to do this it will be necessary, firstly, to look in detail at the evolution of the concept, and secondly, to examine some of the key criticisms of the concept. The first task will involve tracing the development of *structure of feeling* from its genesis in *Preface to Film* (1954), via the developments and refinements of *Culture and Society* (1958), and *The Long Revolution* (1961), to the fullest theoretical expositions in *Marxism and Literature* (1977), and in the in-depth interview with members of the *New Left Review* editorial board, published as *Politics and Letters* (1983). It is worth acknowledging that the concept is not confined to Williams' theoretical writing, however, and forms a cornerstone of many of his other projects, including his writing on drama and the theatre, as well as in the novels, especially the 'trilogy'. [2]

Having considered the evolution of the concept, I will then consider some of the principal criticisms of the concept, and in particular those made by three of Williams closest colleagues - E.P Thompson, Stuart Hall and Terry Eagleton, and the theoretical basis for these criticisms.

Finally, it will be argued that the real strength of the concept of *structures of*

feeling lies in its explanatory power, which goes beyond mere description, to offer concrete models for social activity and social change.

Origins

The concept of '*structures of feeling*' is crucial to much of Williams' prolific output throughout his career. It features, whether explicitly or implicitly, in almost all of his theoretical work, and is also 'worked out' in his novels. It is important to note that Williams' personal and political relationship with Marxism varied considerably throughout his life, but he was always deeply critical of orthodox ("reductionist") Marxism and felt unable to ever agree with the simplistic determinism of a rigid 'base/superstructure' model - which accords determining power only to the level of the 'base' - that is the dominant mode of production and the productive forces - and views the 'superstructure' - that is the realm of ideas, values, meanings, and emotions - as secondary, and therefore 'determined'. Instead he preferred always to emphasise the interrelations of all aspects of the social formation, and his continual stress is on the *complexity* of these relations.

The overarching label he was eventually to give to his new formulation was *Cultural Materialism*, and it is evident, especially in his later work, that he did not regard this as an abandonment of a Marxist position, rather he viewed it as a necessary development within Marxist theory. This is most clearly expressed in the introduction to *Marxism and Literature* (1977), which is also where the fullest and most detailed account of his theory of *structures of feeling* occurs:

"In each part [of the book] while presenting analysis and discussion of key elements and variants of Marxist thinking, I am concerned also to develop a position which, as a matter of theory, I have arrived at over the years. This differs, at several key points, from what is most widely known as Marxist theory, and even from many of its variants. It is a position which can be briefly described as *cultural materialism*: a theory of the specificities of material cultural and literary production within historical materialism. Its details belong to the argument as a whole, but I must say, at this point, that it is, in my view, a Marxist theory, and indeed that in its specific fields it is, in spite of and even because of the relative unfamiliarity of some of its elements, part of what I at least see as the central

thinking of Marxism." [3] (my emphasis)

Concerned, as he was, throughout his work, with a broad range of artistic practices, such as drama, literature, advertising, and television, and the inclusive use of the term 'Culture', Williams felt unable to dismiss these as merely the after-effects of capitalism, and instead sought to develop a theoretical model which allowed for a more holistic account of the social structure, and one which recognised the transformative potential of art - in its broadest possible definitions. At no point, however, does he ever claim that the economic base has no determining power at all - a position he equates with bourgeois romantic individualism - indeed he often takes great care to shed light on the disfiguring effects of capitalism on social relations, and is clear that he consistently believes only a radical transformation of the economic relations of production can be relied on to produce worthwhile and lasting changes in social attitudes. His clearest and most unambiguous commitment to this position is perhaps in the article "*You're a Marxist aren't You?*" published in *Resources of Hope* (1987), but there are also similar expressions of commitment in his work on advertising, particularly *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (1981). Rather he seeks to establish that the sphere of cultural production is a valid, in fact crucial, site for struggle, and to register the complexity of lived experience. As Fazal Rizvi, puts it:

"What is distinctive about Williams's analysis is his contention that issues about material conditions and processes cannot be separated from cultural considerations. Breaking radically from the traditional Marxist 'base and superstructure' metaphor, which he judges to be excessively rigid and abstract, Williams counsels against the separation of the areas of thought and activity which the metaphor implies. He maintains that the economic or material relations in the processes of production should not be regarded in some way as the real or the primary condition of human social existence, the 'base', to which cultural relations, 'the superstructure', are ultimately reducible. Avoiding the dualism inherent in this formulation of Marxism, Williams suggests that social and material processes are inextricably related. Cultural questions are questions about the conditions of social relations - that is, a question of politics." [4]

Fred Inglis has also commented:

"In all these ways of seeing, Williams teaches us to follow the jostling

contradictions of his three historical currents, those trade winds of value which blow through every life, fill every pair of lungs and oxygenate the blood and brain with their contrary directions and temperatures. These three are the clusters of values he identifies temporally as 'dominant', 'residual' and 'emergent'...Once culture is seen as the struggle over values, and values themselves as the field-of-force of social life, then personal life irradiates the realm of culture." [5]

Preface to Film (1954)

Structures of feeling was first used by Williams in the 1954 book, co-authored with Michael Orrom, *Preface to Film*, where it emerges, in the essay '*Film and the Dramatic Tradition*' as part of a general discussion on the nature of dramatic conventions. He points out that conventions are both disabling and enabling - that is that they set limits on the permissible forms of the drama in an historical period, but they simultaneously allow particular types of communication to take place. Conventions operate to offer common frames of reference; they facilitate communication, whether theatrical or political. Thus, conventions are a form of evidence for *structures of feeling* since they indicate the existence of a shared cultural framework. The point needs to be made, however, that conventions do not remain static - they change. Older conventions are displaced by forms which allow for new modes of expression and shared understandings. Existing conventions are deemed inadequate for the articulation of newer contemporary meanings, so new conventions are proposed, tentatively at first, but with increasing vigour in direct proportion to the *structure of feeling* that they give expression to. The process is far from being one of constant amelioration - bad can just as easily replace good, but what is clear above all is the fluidity of the cultural processes which produce the new conventions.

"With the slightest of indications, we will accept that the events we watch are occurring four thousand years before Christ, or in the Middle Ages, or in a flat in Paris on the same night as we are in a theatre in Manchester. The men whom we see as inspector and criminal we recognize as having seen last week as criminal and inspector, or as butler and peer, but we do not challenge them. We accept; we agree; these are the conventions." [6]

These conventions, however, change considerably across and sometimes even within historical periods. The particular forms of the enabling and disabling characteristics are crucial to an understanding of the ways in which the drama communicates, and of the available ranges of expression. These are not just technical matters, nor are they simply the individual whim of writers and producers, but relate to a much wider social aspect - the nature of communication itself. What Williams suggests is that by closely examining the changing conventions it is possible to gain access to some of the fundamental shifts in consciousness which are occurring in a society and an era. The changes, on closer inspection, can thus reveal a great deal about attitudes and aspirations, thought and feeling, and the interrelationships between these and the other levels of the social formation, such as economics and politics. It is worth quoting this first exposition of the argument in full:

"In principle, it seems clear that the dramatic conventions of any given period are fundamentally related to the structure of feeling in that period. I use the phrase *structure of feeling* because it seems to me more accurate, in this context, than *ideas* or *general life*. All the products of a community in a given period are, we now commonly believe, essentially related, although in practice, and in detail, this is not always easy to see. In the study of a period, we may be able to reconstruct, with more or less accuracy, the material life, the general social organisation, and, to a large extent, the dominant ideas. It is not necessary to discuss here which, if any, of these aspects is, in the whole complex, determining; an important institution like the drama will, in all probability take its colour in varying degrees from them all. But while we may, in the study of a past period, separate out particular aspects of life, and treat them as if they were self-contained, it is obvious that this is only how they may be studied, not how they were experienced. We examine each element as a precipitate, but in the living experience of the time every element was in solution, an inseparable part of a complex whole. And it seems to be true, from the nature of art, that it is from such a totality that the artist draws; it is in art, primarily, that the effect of the totality, the dominant structure of feeling, is expressed and embodied. To relate a work of art to any part of that observed totality may, in varying degrees, be useful; but it is a common experience, in analysis, to realize that when one has measured the work against the separable parts, there yet remains some element for which there is no external counterpart. This element, I believe, is what I have named the *structure of feeling* of a period, and it is only realizable through experience of the work of art as a whole." (original emphases) [7]

Here, then, we have the first discussion of *structure of feeling* in any of Williams' writing, and it is important to note the defining aspects of the argument - the stress on complexity; the inevitable inter-connectedness of all aspects of the social formation; the refusal to name any single element as 'determining'; the metaphor of precipitation and solubility; and the importance of 'experience' - in terms of the lived complexity of any period. All of these are themes to which Williams returns again and again throughout his work, expanding and elaborating upon constantly. At this point the concept of *structure of feeling* is only vaguely hinted at. It is a ghostly presence moving abroad in a society, recognizable in certain works of art, but the actual mechanisms of the concept, as a general theory, are left largely unexplored. There is, however, an emphasis on the process of conflict and struggle:

"A new convention...will become established because there are changes in the structure of feeling which demand expression, and which the most creative artists will eventually realize in their work. But by many these changes will be resisted, and bitterly attacked, in the name of accepted standards. What is happening in a situation of this kind is the result of the ways in which the structure of feeling is changing. Awareness of such changes will, at first, be confined to a few minds only; and among artists, it may not be awareness in the sense of an intellectual understanding of such change, but may express itself as an apparently purely personal originality." [8]

What we also begin to get the sense of is that there can, indeed will, be more than one *structure of feeling* in any given period. There is the 'dominant' - the accepted, and familiar - and there is the 'new' - which is likely to be 'bitterly attacked', before it becomes, in turn, accepted itself as the dominant. The language of conflict is clear. So too is the stress, though implied, on the social aspect of the *structure of feeling*. It is not 'purely personal originality', but is a much wider possession. As we shall see later, Williams was criticised, especially by E.P. Thompson, for his alleged lack of consideration for the struggle involved in any process of social change, but that is not a view entirely supported by his actual writing:

"When we examine the actual process of change of conventions, and in particular

remember the fact that the old conventions will always have a solid and powerful material establishment, it will not seem surprising that even where the change can be seen, in retrospect, as inevitable, it was not established without considerable friction and even bitterness." [9]

The material support given to the existing conventions is very powerful, and deeply embedded in dominant institutions. Vested interests, aesthetic, economic and political, are at stake, and challenges to these are likely to be meet with open hostility. But the process of struggle is inevitable, and there can be no doubt that

Williams clearly acknowledges this, even at this earliest stage of the formulation of the concept. A further difficulty arises, however, in that Williams appears to restrict the concept of *structures of feeling* only to the realm of art. Thus it is only in art, or more precisely the "experience of art", that evidence of its existence can be perceived:

"The structure of feeling, as I have been calling it, lies deeply embedded in our lives; it cannot be merely extracted and summarized; it is perhaps only in art - and this is the importance of art - that it can be realized, and communicated, as a whole experience." [10]

This is clearly a limitation. By restricting the realization of a *structure of feeling* to 'art' alone, Williams leaves unanswered questions surrounding the wider processes of social change. Thus it might appear, from this alone, that the concept has no wider usefulness, but he was later to develop this view, and argue that evidence for a *structure of feeling* could be found, for example, in cultural institutions; in the everyday; in language; in familial relations; and in the articulation of memory. This, I believe, shows how at this early stage in his work the concept was not yet fully formed for Williams. He had undoubtedly hit upon something which demanded further exploration and theoretical enquiry, but at this point the concept itself remained 'in solution', rather than available as 'precipitate'.

Culture and Society (1958)

Williams' next development of the concept is considerably different. *Culture and Society* is a work which did much to establish his reputation as a scholar, and it

offers a much fuller account of *structure of feeling*, together with a detailed discussion of some actual historical examples. The focus of the book is not film or drama this time, but literature. But it soon becomes apparent that this is more than an exercise in literary theory:

"It seems to me that we are arriving, from various directions, at a point where a new general theory of culture might in fact be achieved...taking the theory of culture as a theory of relationships between elements in a whole way of life." [11]

This attempt to develop a 'general theory of culture' was to be the hallmark of much of Williams' subsequent writing, and the stress on the interconnections between elements is unequivocal. The book examines in some detail a selection of writers, ranging from Burke and Carlyle, to Eliot and Orwell, and explores the ways in which their writing can be read as evidence for changes in the *structure of feeling* in their respective historical periods. One key point from *Preface to Film* recurs early on:

"Changes in convention only occur when there are radical changes in the general structure of feeling..." [12]

This almost casual reference to a *structure of feeling* is not initially elaborated on at all. Williams uses a similar phrase "structure of meaning" fairly often in the first chapter, but offers no clues here as to what *structure of feeling* might mean. It may be that he assumes a familiarity with the concept on the part of his readers, or, as seems more likely, that he still hasn't fully developed his general thinking on this topic at this stage. What has developed, though, is the detailed analysis of individual examples, thus we get:

"Carlyle is in this essay stating a direct response to the England of his times: to Industrialism, which he was the first to name: to the feel, the quality, of men's general reactions - *that structure of contemporary feeling which is only ever apprehended directly*, as well as to the character and conflict of formal systems and points of view." [13] (my emphasis)

This is very interesting. Williams' comments here clearly suggest that *structures of feeling* can only ever be 'apprehended directly', that is to say, they are only

available as contemporary phenomena. Yet elsewhere in his writing, *The Long Revolution* (1961) for instance, he suggests that grasping a contemporary *structure of feeling* is extremely difficult, and that it most often reveals itself in hindsight. Indeed, Williams' own project in this book is a recovery of the changing *structures of feeling* throughout the long period from 1780-1950. A fuller elaboration on this aspect is given to the *New Left Review* team in *Politics and Letters* (1979), but for now it stands as further evidence of the gradual evolution of the concept over many years, and the continual process of careful re-evaluation and refinement.

Williams offers no explicit discussion of the general principles of a *structure of feeling*. Instead here he uses examples from a group of novels to show the existence of a specific set of responses - what we might call an 'emergent' *structure of feeling* - during the mid-nineteenth century.

"Our understanding of the response to industrialism would be incomplete without reference to an interesting group of novels...These are the facts of the new society, *and there is this structure of feeling*, which I will try to illustrate from *Mary Barton, North and South, Hard Times, Sybil, Alton Locke,* and *Felix Holt*." [14]

This close reading of specific texts for the evidence that they offer of a changing *structure of feeling* is both fascinating and somewhat tantalising. It fascinates because it is genuinely illuminating - the changes are there for all to see – and Williams makes a strong and completely plausible case. The chapter clearly demonstrates that there is a commonality of underlying attitudes discernible in all these novels; industrialism has produced great poverty and inequality, but violence is not seen as an acceptable solution to these social ills, and instead either a withdrawal into the securities of an older social order, based on aristocratic *noblesse oblige*, or a literal withdrawal, such as emigration, for example, is relied upon.

Williams renders these themes visible in a coherent manner, by showing how

they are not simply individual 'responses' on the part of the authors, but actually 'structured' - and thus a more widely-held common possession;

"These novels, when read together, seem to illustrate clearly enough not only the common criticism of industrialism, which the tradition was establishing, but also the general structure of feeling which was equally determining. Recognition of evil was balanced by fear of becoming involved. Sympathy was transformed, not into action, but into withdrawal. We can all observe the extent to which this structure of feeling has persisted, into both the literature and the social thinking of our own time." [15]

It tantalises, however, since one is left to wonder whether this method has any wider applicability, given the lack of any general principles by which it might be applied. Instinct suggests that something as prevalent and communal as a *structure of feeling* ought to be available outside literary texts - that evidence of its existence should be found not only in the entire range of artistic practices, but also beyond these. Yet Williams provides no clues as to where else we might search for this evidence. Thus we are left pondering, at this stage, whether this is an isolated instance of a curious synchronicity between a group of writers, or if, in fact, it is a general human principle, discernible in all societies. The slight vagueness of the proposition should not detract from the eloquence and veracity of Williams' analysis in this instance, but it remains to be seen whether *structure of feeling* has a wider analytical role to play, and what further insights it offers to the cultural analyst.

We get a glimpse of these further insights much later in the book, in a discussion of the work of F.R. Leavis:

"I agree with Leavis...that a society is poor indeed if it has nothing to live by but its own immediate and contemporary experience. But the ways in which we can draw on other experience are more various than literature alone. For experience that is formally recorded we go, not only to the rich source of literature, but also to history, building, painting, music, philosophy, theology, political and social theory, the physical and natural sciences, anthropology, and indeed the whole body of learning. We go also, if we are wise, to the experience that is otherwise recorded: in institutions, manners, customs, family memories." [16]

This is a very important remark for our understanding of the concept of *structures of feeling*. Williams, unsurprisingly given his own subject specialism, mostly uses literature as a marker of experience, and as a way of discovering changes in a *structure of feeling*, but it is finally clear from this passage, that he believes that it isn't literature alone that provides us with this evidence, and that we should, 'if we are wise' cast our net more widely, to encompass 'the whole body of learning', as well as less formally recorded instances, such as family memory. We are left, though, with some urgent broader questions about the social formation - the totality. Williams begins to address these in his discussion of the base/superstructure metaphor, and the lack of a detailed general theory of culture in Marx's writing:

"Marx himself outlined, but never fully developed, a cultural theory...Not only is the tone of his discussion of these matters normally undogmatic, but also he is quick to restrain, whether in literary theory or practice, what he evidently regarded as an over-enthusiastic, mechanical extension of his political, economic, and historical conclusions to other kinds of fact." [17]

This, for Williams, is the crucial point to be made. It signals not only his own rejection of a 'mechanical' application of the base/superstructure metaphor, but also his firm belief that Marx himself did not view the relationships in such a straightforwardly 'determined' way. Williams' characteristic insistence on complexity, and refusal of any form of simple reductionism, is an aspect of his work that brought him criticism. I will return to deal with the specifics of these criticisms in turn, but for now it is important to recognise that Williams saw reductionism as an aberration of Marxism. This is a view supported by John Higgins, who argues that:

"Duly examined, it becomes clear that the idea of 'structure of feeling' is used as a deliberate challenge and alternative to the existing explanatory framework of Marxist literary and cultural analysis." [18]

What we have, then, in *Culture and Society* is the continuation of his thinking on this topic, and whilst he does not self-confidently describe it as 'Marxist' at this stage, it is nonetheless clear, that he is highly critical of those who call

'Marxist' any theory which accords rigid determining power solely to the level of the base/infrastructure. In support of this he refers directly to Marx's own writing in his *Critique of Political Economy* (1859). Due to the obvious importance that this passage has for Williams' whole theory of '*structures of feeling*', it is worth quoting in full:

"In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society - the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness...With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic, or philosophic - in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out." [19]

The key aspects of this famous passage for Williams lie in what he called the 'verbal qualifications' of the text - 'determines the *general* character'; '*more or less rapidly* transformed' - and in the important '*distinction*' that Marx mentions. Whilst transformations at the level of the '*real foundation*' or base can be accurately determined, transformations in the superstructure are necessarily much less precise. At this stage, however, Williams' clearest statements relate to the absolute priority that needs to be accorded to the *complexity* of the relations between the structure (base) and the superstructure:

"The superstructure is a matter of human consciousness, and *this is necessarily very complex*, not only because of its diversity, but also because it is always historical; at any time, it includes continuities from the past as well as reactions to the present." [20]

"This recognition of *complexity* is the first control in any valid attempt at a Marxist theory of culture." [21]

"Here again the emphasis falls on *complexity*..." [22]

"Marxist theory of culture will recognize diversity and *complexity*, will take account of continuity within change, will allow for chance and certain limited autonomies, but with these reservations, will take the facts of the economic structure and the consequent social relations as the guiding string on which a culture is woven, and by following which a culture is to be understood." [23]
(all emphases are mine)

As John and Lizzie Eldridge point out:

"A recurring word in the Williams vocabulary is *complexity*. It functions as a cautionary word and is applied to both the theory and the practice of socialism. It is contrasted, for example, with the notion of social simplicity." [24]

What the extracts above also reveal, when taken together, is not only an emphasis on the historical, and the simultaneous co-existence of past and present consciousness within any contemporary social context, as a clear pre-figuring of the different aspects of the *structure of feeling* - residual, dominant, emergent and pre-emergent - but also a clearly stated recognition of the importance of the economic structure. Williams here carefully avoids the use of the word 'determining', but retains an essentially Marxist position, which insists on the interconnections between different levels of the social structure. The issue is far from straightforward, however, since it is clear that there are, as he points out, at least three possible versions of a Marxist approach to culture:

"Either the arts are passively dependent on social reality, a proposition I take to be that of mechanical materialism, or a vulgar misinterpretation of Marx. Or the arts, as the creators of consciousness, determine social reality, the proposition which the Romantic poets sometimes advanced. Or finally, the arts, while ultimately dependent, with everything else, on the real economic structure, operate in part to reflect this structure and its consequent reality, and in part, by affecting attitudes towards reality, to help *or hinder* the constant business of changing it. I find Marxist theories of culture confused because they seem to me, on different occasions and in different writers, to make use of all these propositions as the need serves." [25] (original emphasis)

What strikes one as curious about these observations is that whilst Williams

demonstrates a scholarly familiarity and indeed sympathy with Marxist theories, he almost casually opts out of fully engaging with the arguments, viewing them as an internal squabble, especially when he remarks:
"This is a quarrel which one who is not a Marxist will not attempt to resolve." [26]

This is a disappointingly glib response, and not wholly convincing either, for in fact Williams in the immediately following section of this chapter, engages in a sustained critique of the question of determinacy.

"The basic question, as it has normally been put, is whether the economic element is in fact determining. I have followed the controversies on this, but it seems to me that it is, ultimately, an unanswerable question...For, even if the economic element is determining, it determines a whole way of life, and it is to this, rather than to the economic system alone, that the literature has to be related...It would seem that from their emphasis on the interdependence of all elements of social reality, and from their analytic emphasis on movement and change, Marxists should logically use 'culture' in the sense of a whole way of life, a general social process." [27]

So whilst it was still to be another few years before he fully articulated his attempt at a Marxist theory of culture, the essential elements are already in place: culture is 'a whole way life of life', 'a general social process'; the economic structure is important to cultural analysis - a 'guiding string', but not the sole determining influence; and art, in its broadest senses, serves at worst as a barometer of social attitudes - which are more than simply individually held views, but actually structured - and at best as a major catalyst for social change, through a process of conflict and struggle.

The final key element is Williams' refusal to accept the formulation of 'mass society', preferring not the Romantic individual, but always emphasizing the social:

"I do not think of my relatives, friends, neighbours, colleagues, acquaintances, as masses; we none of us can or do. The masses are always the others, whom we don't know, and can't know...there are in fact no masses; there are only ways of seeing people as masses." [28]

The Long Revolution (1961)

The introduction to *The Long Revolution* explicitly relates the book to issues first raised in *Culture and Society*. Having there charted a range of changes in the *structure of feeling* as evidenced by the work of selected writers, Williams here develops the arguments in broader terms, and also includes references to the contemporary social context in Britain in the 1960s. There are three crucial elements to the analysis:

"Our whole way of life, from the shape of our communities to the organization and content of education, and from the structure of the family to the status of art and entertainment, is being profoundly affected by the progress and interaction of *democracy* and *industry*, and by the extension of *communications*." [29] (original emphasis)

These three elements, in combination, triangulate the 'long revolution' that Williams refers to. This strong emphasis on the interconnectedness of all aspects of a social formation is the essential foundation for Williams. It informs all his writings, and, crucially, allows him to reject the distinction between culture as 'the arts' and as 'a way of life'. For Williams culture is always both of these simultaneously.

"The variations of meaning and reference, in the use of culture as a term, must be seen, I am arguing, not simply as a disadvantage, which prevents any kind of neat and exclusive definition, *but as a genuine complexity*." [30] (emphasis mine)

Again the emphasis on 'complexity' reappears, though this time it is interesting to note the explicitly positive connotations that Williams attaches to it. It is contrasted with the word 'disadvantage', thus the conclusion is clear - that, for Williams, complexity is an advantage. It is in the discussion of this complexity, and of the difficulties it poses in attempting to apprehend the subtleties of social change that the concept of *structure of feeling* re-emerges:

"It is only in our own time and place that we can expect to know, in any substantial way, the general organization. We can learn a great deal of the life of other times and places, but certain elements, it seems to me, will always

be irrecoverable. Even those which can be recovered are recovered in abstraction, and this is of crucial importance. We learn each element as a precipitate, but in the living experience of the time every element was in solution, an inseparable part of a complex whole. The most difficult thing to get hold of, in studying any past period, is this felt sense of the quality of life at a particular place and time: a sense of the ways in which the particular activities combined into a way of thinking and living... The term I would use to describe it is *structure of feeling*: it is a firm and definite as 'structure' suggests, yet it operates in the most delicate and least tangible parts of our activity. In one sense, this structure of feeling is the culture of a period: it is the particular living result of all the elements in the general organization...I do not mean that the structure of feeling...is possessed in the same way by the many individuals in the community. But I think it is a very deep and very wide possession, in all actual communities, precisely because it is on it that communication depends...The new generation responds in its own ways to the unique world it is inheriting, taking up many continuities that can be traced, and reproducing many aspects of the organization, which can be separately described, yet feeling its whole life in certain ways differently, and shaping its creative response into a new structure of feeling." [31]

We have already seen how Williams absolutely rejects the rigidity of a 'deterministic' Marxism, and he returns to this theme here. This time, however, he identifies the 'elements' which interrelate:

"The truth about a society, it would seem, is to be found in the actual relations, always exceptionally complicated, between the system of decision, the system of communication and learning, the system of maintenance and the system of generation and nurture. It is not a question of looking for some absolute formula, by which the structure of these relationships can be invariably determined." [32]

These four 'systems' are the terms Williams prefers instead of the concept of the base/superstructure. The system of decision = politics; the system of maintenance = broadly, economics or 'maintaining life'; the system of communication and learning = the arts, media, entertainment, education, etc.; the system of generation and nurture = familial and communal relationships.

So a much clearer picture is now beginning to emerge. Neither 'crude' mechanical Marxism, nor bourgeois individualism will suffice. Instead we are presented with the necessity of examining the complexity of the interaction of

the levels of the social formation, and thereby to hasten the process of social change. In this regard Williams turns his attention to his own contemporary situation. The final section of the book, is entitled '*Britain in the 1960's*'. It arises out of the analyses of the previous section, and includes detailed proposals for, amongst other things, a National Curriculum, and plans for the establishment of regional bodies with responsibilities, for example, towards the theatre. Written at the very beginning of the decade, this is a pre-echo of the more detailed work that was to be published in the *May Day Manifesto*, jointly edited with E.P Thompson and Stuart Hall in 1968, and contains some valuable insights into the emerging *structure of feeling*:

"The experience of isolation, of alienation, and of self-exile is an important part of the contemporary structure of feeling, and any contemporary realist novel would have to come to real terms with it." [33]

"My whole case about social change is, moreover, that the interdependence of elements which I described as a matter of theory is an argument for conceiving change on the widest possible front: the changes in emphasis in our economy, in our ordinary working relationships, in our democratic institutions, and in education are all relevant to cultural change in this more explicit field." [34]

"Consciousness really does change, and new experience finds new interpretations: this is the permanent creative process. If the existing meanings and values could serve the new energies, there would be no problem. The widespread dissent, and growing revolt, of the new young generation are in fact the growth of the society, and no policy is relevant unless conceived in these terms." [35]

The Long Revolution extends and develops the analysis of *Culture and Society*, and includes a much fuller description of *structure of feeling*, and what Williams means by the term. The detailed analysis, in the second section especially, of issues such as education, language, and the contemporary novel, give an impression of the changes in the wider *structure of feeling*. The principal issue that Williams doesn't, however, adequately address is how, precisely, changes in the *structure of feeling* occur. The evidence of their existence is plainly stated, and skilfully demonstrated, but the origins of these powerful shifts in

consciousness remain largely unexplained. The feelings are apparent, but what is much less clear is how, and in what ways, these are structured. It is not enough simply to show that they are more than just an individual phenomenon, but that they also existed amongst many artists and thinkers. The critical task of examining the structuring of feeling has not here been fully attempted, thus while the analysis of specific instances is highly illuminating, and much more fully articulated, the wider applicability of the concept remains somewhat less certain.

For Williams at this stage in his writing, *structure of feeling* is a valuable analytical tool for examining shifts in consciousness, as manifested in, particularly, literature and drama, but it's fullest theoretical exposition was yet to come.

Marxism and Literature (1977)

More than twenty years after he first used the concept *structure of feeling*, Williams returns to provide his fullest definition. It is as if it had been nagging away in his consciousness. *Marxism and Literature* is one of Williams' most difficult books. It is not just the intricacy of his writing style - which troubled so many critical commentators such as E P Thompson, and Terry Eagleton, whose comments are discussed later in this chapter - but the density and, inevitably, the *complexity* of the arguments that cause the difficulty. The book deals with a series of related themes, many of them familiar from earlier work - the concept of culture; questions of determination; the base/superstructure metaphor; and includes some new material, including a discussion of 'overdetermination' and 'hegemony'. These characteristically oblique references to the work of Althusser [36] and Gramsci [37], though never referred to by name, help to develop the broader theoretical discussion of *structures of feeling*. Two key points emerge, the first is a stress on 'constitutive processes':

" 'Society' is then never only the 'dead husk' which limits social and individual fulfilment. It is always also a constitutive process with very powerful pressures which are both expressed in political, economic, and cultural formations and, to

take the full weight of 'constitutive', are internalized and become 'individual wills'. Determination of this whole kind - a complex and interrelated process of limits and pressures - is in the whole social process itself and nowhere else: not in an abstracted 'mode of production' nor in an abstracted 'psychology'...The concept of 'overdetermination' is an attempt to avoid the isolation of autonomous *categories* but at the same time to emphasize relatively autonomous yet of course interactive *practices*. In its most positive forms...the concept of 'overdetermination' is more useful than any other as a way of understanding historically lived situations and the authentic complexities of practice." [38]
(original emphases)

The second, closely related, point concerns the ability, or otherwise, of the dominant ruling class to secure hegemony. In order to make this clear, however, we need to reject the notion that only some aspects of the social formation can be considered 'material'. In a passage that carries clear echoes of Foucault [39], Williams argues that:

"The social and political order which maintains a capitalist market, like the social and political struggles that created it, is necessarily a material production. From castles and palaces and churches to prisons and workhouses and schools; from weapons of war to a controlled press: any ruling class, in variable ways though always materially, produces a social and political order. These are never superstructural activities. They are the necessary material production within which an apparent self-subsistent mode of production can alone be carried on." [40]

This recognition is crucial, for it leads into a discussion of the process of hegemony, and the competing levels within it. We are, perhaps, after many years of the development of Cultural Studies and the writings of the 'Birmingham group' and others, familiar with the notion that hegemony is never assured, but has to be constantly re-won, and that the terrains on which it operates are multifarious, and shifting [41], though Williams makes this point especially clearly, and expands upon it to include a discussion of 'counter-hegemony' and 'alternative hegemony':

"A lived hegemony is always a process. It is not, except analytically, a system or a structure. It is a realized complex of experiences, relationships, and activities, with specific and changing pressure and limits. In practice, that is, hegemony can never be singular. Its internal structures are highly complex, as can readily be seen in any concrete analysis. Moreover (and this is crucial, reminding us of the necessary thrust of the concept), it does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified.

It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not at all its own. We have then to add to the concept of hegemony the concepts of counter-hegemony and alternative hegemony, which are real and persistent elements of practice...The reality of hegemony...is that, while by definition it is always dominant, it is never either total or exclusive. At any time, forms of alternative or directly oppositional politics and culture exist as significant elements in the society." [42]

It is thus in this context that Williams develops the concept of different levels of the *structures of feeling*. We have already seen how he had earlier argued that more than one *structure of feeling* could exist in a society - the 'dominant' and the 'new', but this is now reformulated, and given a greater sophistication. The first point is the recognition that any culture includes elements of its past, these are what Williams calls 'the residual':

"The residual, by definition, has been effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present. Thus certain experiences, meanings, and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of the dominant culture, are nevertheless lived and practised on the basis of the residue - cultural as well as social - of some previous social and cultural institution or formation. It is crucial to distinguish this aspect of the residual, which may have an alternative or even oppositional relation to the dominant culture, from that active manifestation of the residual which has been wholly or largely incorporated into the dominant culture...There is then a reaching back to those meanings and values which were created in actual societies and actual situations in the past, and which seem to have significance because they represent areas of experience, aspiration and achievement which the dominant culture neglects, undervalues, opposes, represses, or even cannot recognise."[43]

In order to make sense of the practicalities of the hegemonic conflict Williams actually identifies <u>five</u> levels within a social formation. Each of these can exist simultaneously within any social formation, yet as their descriptive labels indicates, they are always unequally distributed and valorised.

The first of these is the *'archaic'*, "that which is wholly recognized as an element of the past, to be observed, to be examined, or even on occasion to be consciously 'revived'." [44] The second is the *'residual'*, "effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process...as an effective element of the

present. The 'residual' may be part of the dominant culture of a period - or it may have an alternative or oppositional character - Williams gives three examples:

Religion -
"Thus organised religion is predominantly residual, but within this there is a significant difference between some practically alternative and oppositional meanings and values (absolute brotherhood, service to others without reward) and a larger body of incorporated meanings and values (official morality, or the social order of which the other-worldly is a separated neutralising or ratifying component)." [45]

Rural community -
"Again, the idea of rural community is predominantly residual, but it is in some limited respects alternative or oppositional to urban industrial capitalism, though for the most part it is incorporated, as idealization or fantasy, or as an exotic - residential or escape - leisure function of the dominant order itself." [46]

Monarchy -
"Again, in monarchy, there is nothing that is actively residual (alternative or oppositional), but, with a heavy and deliberate additional use of the archaic, a residual function has been wholly incorporated as a specific political and cultural function - marking the limits as well as the methods - of a form of capitalist democracy." [47]

The third level is the *'emergent'* - "new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationships are continually being created." [48] It is important to distinguish between elements which appear 'emergent' but are in fact, simply a new phase of the dominant, and thus 'novel' - and genuinely emergent elements, which are substantially alternative or oppositional in character. There are two sources for the emergent, firstly, a new class - thus the working class in nineteenth-century England produced emergent cultural practices:

"A new class is always a source of emergent cultural practice, but while it is still, as a class, relatively subordinate, this is always likely to be uneven and is certain to be incomplete." [49]

and secondly,

"...other social being and consciousness which is neglected and excluded: alternative perceptions of others, in immediate relationships; new perceptions and practices of the material world." [50]

In Williams own analyses of literature, particularly in *Culture and Society* it is, for the most part, the emergent *structure of feeling* that he is mostly concerned to identify. But he here adds a fourth level, the *'pre-emergent'* = "active and pressing but not yet fully articulated, rather than the evident emergence which could be more confidently named." [51] The 'pre-emergent' may fail to find articulate expression for many reasons - the *structure of feeling* may be insufficiently formed; those possessing the *structure of feeling* may not have access to adequate means of cultural expression, by virtue of educational opportunity, or they may be actively prevented from being given opportunities to find expression - in forms of suppression, exclusion, and censorship.

The fifth level is the *'dominant'*, which consists of the official institutional expressions of a *structure of feeling*. It is never 'neutral' or 'natural', though it may expend a great deal of energy on wishing to appear so. Rather it is the vested interests of the most powerful in society, masquerading as the interests of all. It is, of course, constantly under threat and challenge, and has at its disposal the widest range of material expression, from ownership of the means of production, to control, albeit indirectly, over seemingly less 'public' institutions such as the family, or as Williams puts it - the 'systems of generation and nurture'. The 'dominant' is never, however, unassailable, and may be forced to adopt or incorporate certain challenges to itself. It may also be forced into retreat, as new and pressing *structures of feeling* find confident expression, and come, over time, to be seen as a new development. Whatever the specifics of an individual instance, and these are only available through close analysis of the period in question, the process is always one of struggle, and is never simply assured.

The distinction between 'alternative' and 'oppositional' *structures of feeling* (as noted above) is also important. In Williams' view 'alternative' approaches lack a critical dynamic, it is the 'oppositional' which pose more direct challenges. As Jim McGuigan points out:

"Williams makes a distinction between alternative and oppositional practices. Alternative culture seeks a space to co-exist within the prevailing hegemony whereas oppositional culture seeks to replace it. Both residual and emergent forms may be either alternative or oppositional. But, in general, emergent forms are more likely to offer real opposition." [52]

Williams points out that in most description and analysis the terms 'culture' and 'society' are expressed in an habitual past tense. This has the effect of solidifying social process into institutions, - "into formed wholes, rather than forming and formative processes." [53] The result is that capturing the 'specificity of present being' is made extremely difficult if not impossible. We need always to remember that the social is always in solution, as a set of complex and interrelated processes, and by reducing it to the fixed features, we ignore the dynamics of the ways in which the social is formed and forming. An analytical emphasis on the articulate and explicit social forms, and the relegation of the inarticulate and implicit to the realm of 'the imagination' or, worse still, to the 'unconscious' means that we fail to grasp the essential ways in which practical consciousness is formed, and formative.

"For practical consciousness is what is actually being lived, and not only what it is thought is being lived." [54]

The key distinction here is between 'thought' - as fixed and past, and 'thinking' as fluid and present. It is not enough to examine the 'thought' of a particular period, as expressed in the solidified institutions, practices and forms, instead we need to examine the 'thinking' of a period. Much cultural analysis is unable to examine the 'thinking' because this is seen as largely individual, accessible only via the fixed and articulate record - the literature, music, sculpture, etc. - and often regarded as the product of individual 'genius'. What Williams proposes is that while the thought is evidently social, so too is the thinking. And it is the social nature of this thinking that '*structures of feeling*' sets out to explain. Careful analysis of the fixed forms can thereby reveal not only the 'thought' but also the 'thinking' of a period, and help us to understand the complexities of change more clearly.

"It is a kind of feeling and thinking which is indeed social and material, but each in an embryonic phase before it can become fully articulate and defined exchange. Its relations with the already articulate and defined are then exceptionally complex...For what we are defining is a particular quality of social experience and relationship, historically distinct from other particular qualities, which gives the sense of a generation or of a period...The methodological consequence of such a definition, however, is that the specific qualitative changes are not *assumed* to be epiphenomena of changed institutions, formations, and beliefs, or merely secondary evidence of changed social and economic relations between and within classes. At the same time they are from the beginning taken as *social* experience, rather than 'personal' experience, or as the merely superficial or incidental 'small change' of society." [55] (original emphases)

There are two ways in which they are social - first they are 'changes in presence'; second, "they exert pressures and set effective limits on experience and on action." [56] They are thus simultaneously enabling and disabling. The term 'feeling' was chosen by Williams, in preference to more problematic concepts such as 'world-view' or 'ideology' because of the systematic and potentially confusing connotations of these. This is necessary because, for example, it is perfectly possible, and in many instances likely, to publicly agree with a set of beliefs (formal assent) yet have personal reservations or disagreements with them (private dissent), or for there to exist a complex relationship involving the selection and interpretation of formal values and meanings - an example of this might be the contemporary 'mix and match' approach to holistic, spiritual and mystical belief systems, so that, as an illustration, a practical faith in selected elements of Eastern religions, UFOs, government-based conspiracy theories, ley lines, chakras, re-birthing techniques, astrology, and the lost world of Atlantis can seemingly co-exist without apparent contradiction for many people. The other alternative to 'feeling' might be 'experience' - but this too has connotations of fixity which Williams is keen to avoid - "one of its senses has that past tense which is the most important obstacle to recognition of the area of experience which is being defined." [57]

So it is clear that Williams is not talking only about the fixed record but about something altogether less tangible, yet in many ways, more immediate -

"Characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone; specifically affective

elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and inter-relating continuity." [58]

These elements, particularly in the bourgeois Romantic tradition, are the provenance of the 'imagination' or even or 'genius', but Williams argues they are, in fact, social -

"We are then defining these elements as a 'structure': as a set, with specific internal relations, at once interlocking and in tension." [59]

Because they are still in process, they are often not recognized as social - but rather seen as 'idiosyncratic, and even isolating'. But this is to misrecognize their structuring, not simply as a response to external elements in the social structure, at the level of the economic or political, (the base), but as active factors in the formation of cultural identity and practices.

"Methodologically, then, a '*structure of feeling*' is a cultural hypothesis, actually derived from attempts to understand such elements and their connections in a generation or period, and needing always to be returned, interactively, to such evidence." [60]

"Structures of feeling can be defined as social experiences in solution, as distinct from other semantic formations which have been precipitated and are more evidently and more immediately available." [61]

Politics and Letters (1979)

The final detailed account of *structures of feeling* in general, comes in the book-length interview conducted with Williams by a team drawn from the editorial board of *New Left Review*, and published as *Politics and Letters*. The interview ranges over the full breadth of Williams' work, and though the section directly related to *structures of feeling* is fairly brief, it does contain some useful clarifications, including the observation that Williams himself was not entirely satisfied with the phrase:

"The key to the notion, both to all it can do and all the difficulties it still leaves, is that it was developed as an analytical procedure for actual written works, with a

very strong stress on their forms and conventions. It is a much more straightforward notion when it is confined to that. Yet the pressure of the general argument was continually leading me to say, and I think correctly, that such works were the articulate record of something which was a much more general possession....The point of the deliberately contradictory phrase [*structure of feeling*], with which I have never been happy, is that it was a structure in the sense that you could perceive it operating in one work after another which weren't otherwise connected...yet it was one of feeling much more than thought - a pattern of impulses, restraints, tones, for which the best evidence was often the actual conventions." [62]

The fullest clarification comes in the discussion of the relations between the 'pre-emergent' and 'the dominant'. In *Marxism and Literature* Williams had already indicated some of the difficulties, but here they receive a valuable elaboration:

"I now feel very strongly the need to define the limits of the term. There are cases where the structure of feeling which is tangible in a particular set of works is undoubtedly an articulation of an area of experience which lies beyond them. This is especially evident at those specific and historically definable moments when very new work produces a sudden shock of *recognition*. What must be happening on those occasions is that an experience which is really very wide suddenly finds a semantic figure which articulates it. Such an experience I would now call pre-emergent. On the other hand, a dominant set of forms or conventions - and in that sense structures of feeling - can represent a profound blockage for subordinated groups in society, above all an oppressed class. In these cases, it is very dangerous to presume that an articulate structure of feeling is necessarily equivalent to inarticulate experience." [63]

This is a valuable insight, since it allows us the recognition that not all inarticulate experience will necessarily become articulate and find expression. Some *structures of feeling* will thus remain at the pre-emergent level, and the struggle for articulation - the crucial next step - may fail. The reasons for this failure are overdetermined, but the example Williams gives - of the English working class in the 1790s and 1830s - suggests that lack of access to the means of cultural production are, of course, a major obstacle. This is not surprising, after all, the dominant isn't really dominant if it isn't able to contain and restrain at least some of the emergent challenges to itself. But it is equally certain that no dominant system - even the most rigidly authoritarian - can ever entirely contain the challenges, and that some new *structures of feeling* will find their articulation,

making the transition from pre-emergent to fully emergent. These challenges may be, on occasions, ephemeral and fleeting, examples might include small-scale *samizdat* publications, 'guerrilla' theatre in the agit-prop tradition, even graffiti - but they may also become articulate in more tangible and accessible ways, on television, for example, as in the 'satire boom' in the 1960s, where an pre-emergent anti-authoritarian impulse, which can be clearly seen in theatre during the 1950s, develops into a seemingly less 'angry' yet, at times, still provocative critique in programmes such as *This Was The Week That Was*. Of course, this emergence is not without its own history, not only in the 'angry young men' of the 1950's, but also in *The Goons*, who themselves drew on a longer music hall tradition, which had been distinctively shaped by the experiences of the Second World War.

The point, however, is that *structures of feeling* don't arise out of nowhere - that would be to take the bourgeois Romantic line, nor are they simply a response to the structural features of a society at the level of the economic, which would be to fall into the trap of 'reductionist' Marxism. They are always in process, in complex ways, formed by the interaction of a multiplicity of elements - including the economic - which connect the past, present and future in a continuity.

The final point that emerges from the interview is Williams' insistence on maintaining both the importance of recognizing that 'seeing', as much as 'feeling' and 'thought' is always already structured: "There is no natural seeing and therefore there cannot be direct and unmediated contact with reality." [64] But at the same time he is careful not to follow the structuralists in reaching the opposite point - "in which the epistemological wholly absorbs the ontological". He clearly distances himself from his "formalist friends, of whom I have many", by recalling an "absolutely founding presumption of materialism: namely that the natural world exists whether anyone signifies it or not." This necessary insistence, and one that is fundamental to Williams' theory of 'cultural materialism', maintains a critical

distance from the wilder excesses of structuralist and post-structuralist theory, with their claims that there is nothing beyond signification, and no external referent, only the systems of signification themselves. Williams is thoroughly materialist on this point, insisting on the inter-connections of elements of a social formation - including an external material reality, existing beyond signification.

The discussion in *Politics and Letters* sheds some useful light on the specific issue of the concept of *structures of feeling*. The interview team take Williams to task over some specific issues, notably, and rightly, for example, his lack of emphasis on the impact of the French Revolution and later the upheavals in Europe in 1848, on English thinking at the time. Williams' response to this is that he was trying to examine how the novels of that period show the emergence of a particular, yet contradictory, *structure of feeling* - on the one hand a sympathy with the conditions of the poor, and on the other hand a deep fear of their violence, and that that fear extended to the violence which was occurring in Paris in 1848.

During this interview, Williams can be seen to be returning to his original use of *structures of feeling* in *Preface to Film* where the emphasis was on the changing conventions. Over the twenty-five years since he first developed the concept much has been clarified, and made more explicit in the long process of exploration and refinement. The continual presence of the concept in Williams' writing bears testament to his personal conviction in its value, and of the importance of both avoiding the simplicities of the base/superstructure metaphor, and of recognizing, always, that thinking and feeling are never wholly 'individual' but are deeply, and inextricably social.

Critiques of Structures of Feeling

Structures of feeling is a concept that has been adopted as a phrase by many writers – often erroneously - as a synonym for *zeitgeist* or as a general description of the 'spirit of the age'.[65] This, however, is to significantly misunderstand the nuances and critical impulses that underpin the concept in its most developed form. The concept is not simply a replacement for a general sense of 'how things are', or even 'how they might be', but is a way of articulating the struggle for 'how things should be', as Lesley Johnson explains:

"Williams extends his exploration of a Marxist cultural theory through the use of a number of specific concepts. He suggests the notion of 'structures of feeling', for example, to escape the rigidity which Marx also criticised when people talk of 'ideologies' or 'world views'. These concepts convey a sense of their being fixed forms, rather than in constant flux. 'Structures of feeling' emphasizes the way in which meanings and values are actively lived and felt." [66]

Nonetheless, by no means all critical commentators were sympathetic to the concept, and in the following section of this chapter I outline in some detail specific critiques of *structures of feeling* as expressed by three prominent commentators: E.P Thompson, Terry Eagleton and Stuart Hall. Thompson and Hall were fellow members of the *New Left* in the 1950 and 60s, and amongst Williams' closest political colleagues, despite their occasional differences. Eagleton was both a former student, and long-term colleague, of Williams. Each, in their different ways, sought to engage in a critical dialogue with various aspects of his writing. The full breadth of these is beyond the scope of this thesis, so here I want to concentrate on specific discussions related to ideology, determinism, and agency – to show how these are all inter-related to the concept of *structures of feeling*. My aim is to identify and comment upon these aspects of the various critiques in order to develop a more rounded understanding of the concept and its' strengths and weaknesses.

EP Thompson

One of the most celebrated and oft-quoted critiques of Williams' early writing came from his long-term political ally and colleague, Edward Thompson. Thompson wrote a lengthy review of *The Long Revolution*, which was published in two parts in the *New Left Review*. [67]

The five principle criticisms which Thompson makes in this extended article relate to: Williams' writing style; the question of agency; the question of conflict; the problem of 'ideology'; and the issue of political organisation and leadership.

The tone of the review verges on the intemperate at times, and there is certainly some harsh criticism offered:

"To make his meaning finally clear I think he must re-make his style." [68]

"Mr. Williams' self-isolation from any tradition leads to statements so portentous as to appear arrogant." [69]

"The evasion of this confrontation involves him at times in thinking which I would almost describe as shoddy." [70]

Yet at the same time there is fulsome praise for Williams' intellectual achievement, and integrity:

"Even a brief passage of his writing has something about it which demands attention - a sense of stubborn, unfashionable integrity, a combination of distinction and force...His work is very important indeed, and that - so far as we can speak of a New Left - he is our best man." [71]

Nor is this simply an academic nicety - both men had a genuine respect for each other, and Williams specifically thanked Thompson, in the foreword to "The Long Revolution":

"I was helped by Edward Thompson's criticism of an earlier draft of my history of the popular press, and am grateful to him for this as for much else." [72]

Taking each of Thompson's points in turn:

Writing style:

"I have a real difficulty with Raymond Williams' *tone*...what is evident here is a concealed preference – in the name of 'genuine communication' – for the language of the academy." [73]

'Certain difficulties in Mr. Williams' style (that 'density' of which some reviewers have complained) arise from his determination to de-personalise social forces and at the same time to avoid certain terms and formulations which might associate him with a simplified version of the class struggle which he rightly believes to be discredited. But I think he has evaded, and not circumvented, the problem.' [74]

"Oh, the sunlit quadrangle, the clinking of glasses of port, the quiet converse of enlightened men!" [75]

This is both unfair and hurtful. It confuses Williams' admittedly dense writing style with an uncritical fondness for the institution within which he occupied an always ambivalent and critical position, namely Cambridge University. Williams was often very scathing of the 'braying' he encountered, and in his obituary for F.R. Leavis, he described Cambridge as 'one of the rudest places on earth...shot through with cold, nasty, bloody-minded talk'.[76] Williams also spent a substantial period of his life working for the *Workers Educational Association* – perhaps as far removed, in educational terms, from the sunlit quadrangle as it is possible to be! Williams' style is undoubtedly difficult at times, and there are passages of his writing that make considerable demands on the reader, but he is grappling with complex issues, and hence adopts an appropriate mode of expression. It is uncharitable in the extreme to then accuse him of basking in collusion with the institutions of privilege and exclusion, when so much of his work is devoted to exposing the contradictions and inequalities inherent in these institutions.

The question of agency:

In direct response to Williams' discussion of social change, and the forces responsible for this, Thompson castigates him for paying insufficient attention to the specific mechanisms. He agues that Williams' analysis neglects the

crucial question of agency, and the processes involved. Employing a particularly poetic turn of phrase, he poses the question:

"If Dame Society was changing all these garments, who or what bewhiskered agent was standing outside the boudoir and forcing her to this exercise?" [77]

This has become a classic phrase, and the criticism of Williams for paying insufficient attention to questions of agency, and of de-personalising social forces, has definite validity. The continual stress on complexity, and the inter-relations between the 'elements' of the social formation, are valuable and a useful antidote to the absurdities of a rigid determinism. But this emphasis means that it is sometimes very difficult to get any sense of why change takes place. I believe that Williams himself hadn't fully worked out his own thoughts on the issues of agency and determination at this time, which is why he returned to these central issues, in much more depth, in *Marxism and Literature*. The 'being/consciousness' issue lies at the heart of the problem for Williams. He cannot accept the rigidities of the position that 'being determines consciousness', but neither can he agree with the alternative, in the Romantic tradition of individualism, that 'consciousness determines being'. So *structures of feeling* can perhaps be best seen as his response to the dilemma. Its strength lies in its rejection of simple binary oppositions - but its weakness lies in its complexity, and the fact that it was to take Williams nearly 25 years to arrive at a fully worked out position on this issue.

<u>The question of conflict:</u>

Directly related to the question of agency in Thompson's critique, is the question of conflict.

'My point is that his analysis does not lead people towards ...confrontation, because he has given a record of impersonal forces at work and not a record of struggle.' [78]

'There are no good or bad men in Mr. Williams' history, only dominant and subordinate 'structures of feeling'. In the result we are left with a general euphoria of 'progress'...'growth', 'expansion' and 'new patterns'. [79]

What Thompson objects to most is the implication that History itself is responsible for change in a seamless flow of events, rather than people being responsible for change, most often as a result of conflict and struggle. He takes particular exception to Williams' definition of 'culture' as "the lived experience of a whole way of life".

"If we were to alter one word in Mr. Williams' definition from 'way of life' to 'way of *growth*', we move from a definition whose associations are passive and impersonal to one which raises questions of activity and agency. And if we change the word again, to delete the associations of 'progress' which are implied in 'growth', we might get: 'the study of relationships between elements in a whole way of '*conflict*". And a way of conflict is a way of '*struggle*'. And we are back with Marx." [80]

It is important to recognise that when Williams used this phrase it was in direct opposition to writers such as T.S. Eliot, who in his book *Notes towards the Definition of Culture* (1948), had put forward the following argument:

"[Culture] includes all the characteristic activities and interests of a people: Derby Day, Henley Regatta, Cowes, the twelfth of August, a cup final, the dog races, the pin table, the dart board, Wensleydale cheese, boiled cabbage cut into sections, beetroot in vinegar, nineteenth-century Gothic churches and the music of Elgar." [81]

Williams was deeply critical of this static and nostalgic version of 'culture', pointing out that it included only 'references to sport, food and a little art'. He suggested that it could equally include such activities as steelmaking, mixed farming and coalmining. Nonetheless, Thompson feels even these additions are inadequate, since: "Not one example is included in Eliot's nor in Mr. Williams' list which forces to the front the problems of power and conflict." [82]

Whilst Williams' in his interview with *New Left Review* team acknowledged the importance of Thompson's critique, it is interesting to note that, in reality, his writing was often studded with the vocabulary of struggle. Perhaps drawing upon his own experience as a Lieutenant in an Anti-Tank Regiment during the Second World War, he often uses the metaphors of violent conflict, for example:

"In the changes of the past, we always have the reassurance of knowing how the *battle* finally went; we know whose is the *victory*, and we come down, naturally

enough, on the side of the *winning battalions*." [83] (My emphases)

As Failie put it in an earlier review of Williams work:

"The most interesting feature of Mr. Williams' writing is its violence. He seems incapable of talking of any change, movement or effort except in violent language. Tightening, breakthrough, crisis, struggle, revolution, pressures, drives, forces, tensions, stresses: these are the descriptive words which come naturally to him." [84]

<u>The problem of ideology:</u>

Thompson argues that:

'What Mr. Williams has never come to terms with is the problem of ideology'. [85]

"Mr. Williams gives glimpses of the problem [of ideology]; but he never considers how far a dominant social character plus a structure of feeling plus the direct intervention of power plus market forces and systems of promotion and reward plus institutions can make and constitute together a 'system' of ideas and beliefs, a constellation of received ideas and orthodox attitudes, a 'false consciousness' or a class ideology which is more than the sum of its parts and which has a logic of its own.' [86]

Here, again, there is some validity in Thompson's critique, and this lack of a general theory of ideology is a point picked up by Terry Eagleton, but this needs to be set against Williams' major ambition to escape the Scylla and Charybdis of 'determinism' on the one hand, and 'bourgeois individualism' on the other. Nor is Williams alone in the difficulties he faces when trying to make use of 'ideology'. Thompson in his article shows how the term can mean both 'false consciousness' and yet simultaneously refer to the ideas or even aspirations of a particular class. Williams in *Marxism and Literature* devotes specific attention to the definitional problems, and demonstrates how ideology can refer to:

a system of beliefs characteristic of a particular class or group; a system of illusory beliefs – 'false consciousness' – which can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge; and as the general process of the production of meanings and ideas.[87]

Further to this, Williams argues that the artificial separation of 'being' and 'consciousness' in 'mechanical' Marxism' is a grave error:

"What this version of Marxism especially overlooks is the 'thinking'; and 'imagining' are from the beginning social processes...and that they become accessible only in unarguably physical and material ways: in voices, in sounds made by instruments, in penned or printed writing, in arranged pigments on canvas or plaster, in marble or stone."[88]

The whole intellectual thrust behind *structures of feeling* is thus to avoid simple dualisms, and to reach for a thorough-going revision and redefinition of binary oppositions.

"It is an open question whether 'ideology' and 'ideological', with their sense of 'abstraction' and 'illusion', or their senses of 'ideas' and 'theories', or even their senses of a 'system' of beliefs or of meanings and values, are sufficiently precise and practicable terms for so far-reaching and radical a redefinition."[89]

So, Thompson is right in that Williams does wish to avoid these potential confusions, and hence prefers the term *structure of feeling*, though not as a simple substitute. It is for him more nuanced, more 'precise' and 'practicable', and thus better suited to the complexities of cultural analysis.

<u>The issue of political organisation and leadership:</u>

Thompson takes particular issue with Williams over his lack of concern for questions of political organisation and leadership.

"The sociological pluralism by which priority is given to none of the 'elements' in society, together with the emphasis on impersonal 'growth' and the underplaying of minorities - all these seem to lead on to a pluralistic - even an anarchistic - attitude to problems of political organisation and leadership." [90]

Again Thompson is partly right on this count - Williams isn't directly concerned with problems of leadership, for example, his proposals for extending democratic control throughout all sections of society, from housing estates, to the theatre and the cinema, never refer to leadership directly. As Eldridge & Eldridge later remarked: "From his egalitarian perspective Williams was suspicious of leadership." [91] It is as if he somehow expects the vesting of

democratic control in local and regional bodies to be enough in itself, and that the problem of leadership is one that concerns centralists much more. Yet he is deeply concerned with questions of political organisation, and especially those forms that transcend existing party lines.

In *The May Day Manifesto 1968*, co-authored with Thompson and Stuart Hall, political organisation is conceived of in radically pluralistic terms, with much talk of 'connecting' and 'bringing together' different groups.

> "It follows from our whole analysis and approach that we do not want to set up any kind of centralizing organization which would demand any premature decision of loyalties. We are interested in promoting a connecting process." [92]

This is a point also raised by Eagleton, and will be discussed in more detail later on, but for now it is important to recognise just how accurate and perceptive Williams was on this score. The type of coalition politics he argued for was clearly an example of a pre-emergent *structure of feeling*, albeit one that took three decades to become more clearly emergent.

Throughout his article E.P. Thompson makes a number of detailed criticisms of Williams. Some of these provide helpful clarification, others are less helpful, and even unfair. The central point, however, is that the concept of *structures of feeling* retains its value and explanatory power, even in the face of such sustained critical analysis. Nothing that Thompson proposes does anything to contradict the central premise, that there are perceptible shared responses to the process of culture as a whole way of life (or even a whole way of 'struggle'), which are not simply 'false consciousness' nor vaguely-held 'moods' or 'emotions'.

Terry Eagleton

An equally sustained and detailed critique of Williams' work came from Terry Eagleton, [93] who had been a student of Williams, and subsequently worked closely with him as a colleague for several years. He had even persuaded

Williams to write material for *Slant*, the radical Catholic journal edited by Eagleton, and to speak at one of their conferences.[94]

Eagleton develops a number of the themes articulated by Thompson. Of Williams' writing style:

"An elaborately formal, resoundingly public discourse in which an abstractive habit has become an instinctual reflex, a conjuring of weight out of emptiness which lacks all edge and abrasiveness. Concrete particulars are offered in such modified, mediated and magisterial a guise as to be only dimly intelligible through the mesh of generalities." [95]

This is harsh stuff, yet just a few sentences later, he writes:

"What he did...he did single-handedly, working from his personal resources, without significant collaboration or institutional support. The product of that unflagging, unswerving labour was the most suggestive and intricate body of socialist criticism in English history...The necessarily astringent criticisms which follow are made in that spirit of comradeship and good faith." [96]

What Williams always sought to stress was that 'culture' was not something that people received, but that it ever was and will be something that they *participate* in. This is what lies at the heart of his famous formulation 'culture is ordinary'. At all times and in all places people create culture in the very process of living (and struggling), and to deny this is to restrict 'culture' to a specialised sphere, the preserve of the bourgeoisie, whose values and meanings are then projected onto a society as a whole. So there is a radical rejection in his writing – of both the complacent nostalgia typified by T.S. Eliot, and of the market-driven consumerism of contemporary 'cultural commentators'. Eagleton, however, takes issue with this "confusion in Williams' thought":

"It entailed a naively historicist conception of ideology, reducing it to a unitary world-view imposed on the social formation from above by the hegemonic class." [97]

Yet just a few pages later, he appears to adopt a contrary view, arguing that:

"Williams fails to understand the ways in which working-class subjectivity is determined by bourgeois ideology; 'structure of feeling' is thus an essentially inadequate conceptualization of ideology." [98]

This is an extraordinary position for Eagleton to adopt, since it appears to completely overlook the complex formulation of *structure of feeling*, with its multi-layered characteristics, from the *archaic*, and the *residual*, to the *pre-emergent*, *emergent*, and *dominant*. The concept is far from 'naively historicist' or 'reductionist', nor is it synonymous with 'ideology', and rejects totally the notion that a hegemonic class has a monopoly on culture or any other aspect of the social formation.

Eagleton does in fact recognise this point later in the essay where he discusses *structure of feeling* directly:

"His personally invented concept of a 'structure of feeling' [is] a firm but intangible organization of values and perceptions which acts as a mediating category between the psychological 'set' of a social formation and the conventions embodied in its artefacts. What this concept designates, in effect, is ideology; but it is a mark of Williams' originality that...he privately rediscovers an essential category which is either objectively absent, or (as with the available definition of ideology) theoretically inadequate." [99]

This seems to indicate approval for the careful tension and balance indicated by the combination of something as rigid as a 'structure' with something as fluid as a 'feeling', however, just a few sentences later Eagleton writes:

"Yet, the calculated tension between 'structure' and 'feeling' is also the mark of a limit within his own thought...he lacks the theoretical terms which might specify the precise articulations of that structure." [100]

One is left wondering what to make of this. Eagleton seems unable to make up his mind as to the value and usefulness of the concept – and veers from praising its use in *The English Novel from Dickens to Lawrence* [101] as "superb", to deriding its use in *The Long Revolution* as "deprived of even the most elementary method".

More obvious is Eagleton's scorn for the positions expounded by Williams in the *May Day Manifesto*:

"The collapse of the Manifesto movement...was almost mathematically predictable. The essential liberal conception of socialist organization implicit in

the 'circular totality' of the New Left – 'connecting', 'co-operating', 'explaining', communicating', 'extending' – was politically sterile from the outset. May 1968, the date of the Manifesto's publication in book form, signalled a political movement of rather more import than this well-intentioned offering, before which it was inevitably thrust into oblivion." [102]

This is a rather heavy-handed dismissal of a project that in many ways pre-dated the 'rainbow coalition' approach to extra-parliamentary political action that we can see at the beginning of the 21st century. Much of what Williams, Thompson and Hall (amongst others) were arguing for – the setting aside of factional positions; the importance of 'communication' (Williams' preferred term for the media); the need for co-operative action – has come to fruition in, for example, the founding of the *Socialist Alliance*, which brings together a broad spectrum of environmental and radical groups to provide a direct challenge to the New Labour project.

In many ways *The May Day Manifesto* has a direct bearing on the current political scene, whilst the student uprisings of May 1968 now seem like a glorious, but doomed, outpouring of dissatisfaction against the prevailing 'Establishment'. May 1968, as a metaphor, was very important, but it failed to become anything like the kind of inclusive movement that Williams envisaged in the Manifesto. Yet again, Williams' work has a contemporary relevance which demonstrates his extraordinary perceptiveness.

Stuart Hall

Like Thompson and Eagleton, Stuart Hall worked closely with Williams over many years. Williams wrote articles for the journal *Universities and Left Review* edited by Hall, and they have both become firmly established, alongside Richard Hoggart and E.P. Thompson, as the 'founding fathers' of Cultural Studies. [103]

In a collection of essays about Williams' - *Raymond Williams: Critical Perspectives* - published the year after his death, in 1988, and edited by Terry

Eagleton, Hall contributes a detailed 'commentary' on the book length interview – *Politics and Letters*. In this he covers a broad range of Williams' work, but of particular relevance here is his discussion of 'determination' and 'ideology'.

Hall criticised Williams' refusal to accord primary determinancy in terms of a base/superstructure metaphor. As we have seen Williams' preferred to think in terms of a multiplicity of determining influences – an 'overdetermination' - and his emphasis is most often on "indissoluble elements of a continuous socio-material process".

Hall argues that this is a refusal, and that although in any real historical situation there is "an indissolubility of practices in the ways in which they are experienced and 'lived' " [104] that there is still a requirement for abstraction - to separate elements of the whole in order to be able to examine the specifics of their inter-connections:

"Analysis must deconstruct the 'lived wholeness' in order to be able to think its determinate conditions" [105]

Describing *structures of feeling* as a "quite unsatisfactory concept", Hall goes on to argue for a lessening of the emphasis on 'experience' and a fuller recognition of the unevenness of structures:

"However one attempts to displace the plenitude which the term 'experience' confers, and however much one allows for 'marked disparities' and 'temporal uneveness' so long as 'experience' continues to play this all-embracing role, there will be an inevitable theoretical pull towards reading all structures as if they expressively correlated with one another: simultaneous in effect and determinancy because they are simultaneous in our experience." [106]

Quoting, with approval, the questioners from the *New Left Review* who conducted the extended interview with Williams, that "structures can be

temporally simultaneous, but they need not thereby be causally equal" Hall is explicitly critical of what he terms the 'experiential paradigm' in Williams's work.

This is unfair, though perhaps understandable. Williams does not use 'experience' as a simple substitute for 'ideology' - it does not especially function as social cement, bonding all the elements into an indecipherable whole nor is it acting as a somewhat soggy theoretical blanket which can be thrown over the social formation - rather, for Williams, 'experience' is the lived terrain on which the social-material process is lived out. He does not refuse questions of determinancy so much as register their complexity and resistance to the kind of abstraction Hall calls for. Recognition of the importance of 'processes' demands an approach that always takes full account of the fluidity, and sees fixity, for whatever purpose, even analytical, as inappropriate and misleading.

Nowhere does Williams claim that all elements are 'causally equally', nor evenly experienced - his theoretical formulations continually stress the shifting emphases, the conflicts of structure, and the struggles to resolve feelings and thoughts into appropriate action. What Hall criticises for being overtly experiential is more properly seen as the marking of complexity, and the need for fluid forms of analysis of processes which are deeply resistant to other forms of theoretical enquiry - or if not exactly 'resistant' then at least offer only partial accounts and, thus, distortions. Williams' response to the vigorous questioning of the *New Left Review* team is to re-state the complexity of lived experience which is not reducible to a simple (or simplistic) single determination.

Interestingly Hall himself whilst expressing dissatisfaction with the concept of

structures of feeling had in an earlier stage of his career attempted a 'phenomenological reading' of Hippies, based on the assertion that they represented more than just a style but were in fact a 'project'. In order to do this he stressed the need to 'catch, describe and interpret the symbolic modes of life':

"I am trying to make manifest what are, by definition, the latent meanings of a way of life...I believe this is necessary to get close to the underlying value-structure and *weltanschauung* of this highly significant phenomenon...My intention is to suggest that the Hippies and their way of life are not the patternless, amorphous muddle and confusion which as first they appear to be. The way of life, and the values and attitudes embodied and projected in it, have a consistency and pattern." [107]

It is very difficult to see how this in any significant way differs from an attempt to describe a *structure of feeling.* Calling it a *weltanschauung* [108] may make it appear more theoretically grounded, but the two concepts are remarkably similar in many ways. Both are, to some extent, a response to the lived realities of a concrete social context, though *structure of feeling* has the advantage of offering a more precise model for its' own emergence, and relies less on vague notions of 'something in the air', or a 'spirit of the age'. [109]

Conclusion:

This chapter has outlined in detail the development of the concept of *structures of feeling* and also examined thorough critiques of Williams' work put forward by three of his most searching colleagues. Certain aspects of these critiques are enormously helpful – as in Thompson's insistence on the importance of 'struggle'. Yet it is my contention that the central theoretical concept of *structures of feeling* retains its analytical value in the face of these sustained criticisms, and that it has an explanatory power that demands further attention. Fred Inglis summarized its' central features as follows:

" 'Structure of feeling'...is to be a 'term as firm and definite as "structure" suggests, yet it operates in the most delicate and least tangible parts of our

activity'. The formula gives him the theoretic centrality of the arts as especially formative of feeling in society; it gives him the connection between the honourable name of 'ordinariness', and exceptionality; it gives him his always-Hegelian instrument of analysis, which is to say, Williams' usably simple model of social change, in which feelings and meanings come through in each new generation and class in a general assertion of *difference* shaped by and shaping all the key relationships of life. Such a model makes fearsome play of that at once theoretic, protean and sentimental word 'relationships', but it has the great merit of making our deepest feelings into the subject and object of history." [110]

My analysis in the later chapters of this thesis will show that the praxis of radical Christianity under discussion was more than a collection of 'texts', but was a 'way of thinking and feeling' as well - and that any study of the texts is only a starting point not a closure; in Williams' telling phrase: "the articulate record of something which was a much more general possession."

Peter Middleton points out that:

"For Williams a theory of social change must do two things. It must have a way to describe the formation of new knowledge, morality and aesthetics at all levels from word to intertextuality, and it must have a way of modelling the emergence of new forms of social group without simply reducing the group to an effect of the functioning of the existing social order as it is reified in a social theory." [111]

Above all then, *structures of feeling* is a concept which seeks to explain change; to account for the moments of rupture and disjuncture that see apparently settled and established conventions and ways of thinking and feeling challenged and threatened, and their replacement with new conventions and ways of thinking and feeling which offer new opportunities and possibilities. At times several elements of the old conventions retain a presence in the newer ones, but the emphasis will have changed. The new context of their incorporation provides a new repertoire of meanings and potential.

This process is undeniably one of struggle –"considerable friction and even bitterness" - and the outcomes are not assured. It is in fact likely that the process of struggle clarifies and thus modifies the character of the emergent

structure of feeling, so that the resulting changes in conventions do not emerge in their precise original form. Struggle is itself a transforming process, not simply resulting in a shift of conventions - from existing established conventions to new pre-formed ones - but acting to alter the character of the emergent, so that what emerges displays transformed and transforming features.

The explanatory power of *structure of feeling* is important to recognise, since unlike other concepts with which it has, erroneously, been elided (such as *zeitgeist*), [112] it does more than simply describe prevailing conventions, and document their replacements and transformations. *Structures of feeling* offers us a way of understanding the mechanisms for social change; it is an explanatory account which prioritizes conflict as the necessary and inevitable factor in the development of new forms of experience.

The message is clear - for new conventions to emerge requires a process of struggle, that is itself transforming. The concept of *structures of feeling* does more than simply record the changes, it accounts for their ebb and flow, and stresses the fluid nature of the conflicts. *Structures of feeling* allows us to examine the processes whereby new conventions and ways of thinking and feeling have come about, and further invites us to recognise their fragility and inherent susceptibility to the threats and challenges of the newer (pre-emergent) conventions.

Often *structures of feeling* has been understood as a totalising concept across whole societies or epochs, but it is evident that Williams himself did not see it that way, and that within any given period it could be possible for there to be *structures of feeling* of 'absolutely contrasting character'. At the same time, however, the wider claims are present. Given the existence of broadly similar material conditions - nation states within a Capitalist system of production - it is not surprising that the *structures of feeling* can transcend national boundaries:

"If the mode of analysis is viable, it must be applicable anywhere. Some elements of a *structure of feeling* are, of course, only traceable through a close analysis of language, which will always be a national one. But the most normal evidence for such a structure is conventions, which are often international." [113]

Thus *structures of feeling* are intersubjective and transubjective, yet also international and transnational. The leap from one to the other is not necessarily given, and would require close examination - but the light this throws on the counter-cultural formations of the 1960s and 1970s is intriguing. Although expressed in distinctive ways, and retaining links with specific local practices and activities, it is evident that an identifying feature of the counter-culture was its global appeal - that it spoke across boundaries, and that much of its practical activity and energy were geared towards the establishment and strengthening of international connections, and the loosening of the established conventions in politics, art and life. As will be shown, this was certainly the case for CHURCH and *The Catonsville Roadrunner*, which had links with other activists in places such as South Africa, the USA, the Soviet Union, and Latin America.

It should be possible then, to interrogate the praxis of radical Christianity not just for what it reveals about itself, about those individuals directly involved, or even those with whom it came into contact, but in terms of *structures of feeling*. This provides the impulse to examine the elements and their connections related to radical Christianity in the period 1967-1978. One key source is in the in-depth interviews conducted with several of those who were active participants at the time. These are invaluable, and offer a great deal of useful insight into the distinctive ways of thinking and feeling, but they are also filtered through more than 25 years of subsequent experience and adjustment, and need to be read in this light. They are indispensable, but not wholly authoritative. The other way to look for evidence of the elements is in the 'forms and conventions' – "which - in art and literature - are often among the very first indications that such a new structure is forming." [114]

Jim McGuigan points out that:

"Williams's term [*structure of feeling*] expresses the articulation between the lived and those more or less determining elements in the structure which in their turn shape and inform the lived. At the very least this demands an analysis of the relationships between the different levels and sites of social and cultural activity. Taken to its extreme, human activity and agency is always and at the same time an expression of structures. What exactly constitutes the 'structures' have been points for debate and struggle as have the ways in which we might account for human activity, but William's formulation can be read as a 'blue-print' for the cultural studies project." [115]

In the following chapter I examine selected aspects of the cultural contexts within and against which the Christian radicals found themselves. This 'scene setting' is vital to understanding the emergence of their distinctive *structure of feeling*, since as argued above it would be misleading to consider their activities as either 'unique' or 'disconnected' from the specific social, cultural and economic situations in which they operated. In chapters four, five, and six, I aim to identify and trace aspects of the emergent *structure of feeling* in the activities and 'texts' produced by the radical Christians during the late 1960s and into the 1970s. These include: the uses of theatre in political protest which characterised the early CHURCH phase of the radical Christians; the use of language, design, layout and themes evident in *The Catonsville Roadrunner* and its relationship with the emerging 'underground press'; and the final 'experiment in community' that took place at *Wick Court*. What links these phases is their common efforts to express an emerging *structure of feeling* that was explicitly opposed to the dominant conventional modes in both the Church and the world.

Andrew Milner makes the point that:

"Structures of feeling are no longer, then, in any sense 'the culture of the period': they are, rather, precisely those particular elements within the more general culture which most actively anticipate subsequent mutations in the general culture itself; in short that are quite specifically counter-hegemonic." [116]

The particularities of approach, the distinctive tone and mood of these practices and activities are important to keep sight of, as are moments of inconsistency, fragmentation and rupture, but the links and continuities with other discourses,

the commonality of expression across forms, the shared sympathies and tendencies are all important too.

As Stuart Hall put it in a discussion of both Thompson and Williams:

"It is, ultimately, where and how people experience their conditions of life, define them and respond to them, which, for Thompson defines why every mode of production is also a culture, and every struggle between classes is also a struggle between cultural modalities; and which, for Williams, is what a 'cultural analysis' in the final instance, should deliver." [117]

What emerges from this research is a praxis, evolving in a number of different ways, which taken together, provide clear examples of the struggle for the emergence of a radical Christian *structure of feeling.* The disparities and loose connexions are the inevitable and irrefutable evidence of the conflict, which was, as in all cases, multi-faceted and uneven. It drew on a range of diverse strategies and resources, operated within, and against, constraints of existing conventions, but throughout can be characterised by its central defining feature - *struggle*.

"People change, it is true, in struggle and by action. Anything as deep as a dominant structure of feeling is only changed by active new experience." [118]

Footnotes to Chapter Two:

Note:
The tiles of Williams' books have been abbreviated here as follows: *Preface to Film* = PTF; *Culture and Society* = C & S; *The Long Revolution* = TLR; *Marxism and Literature* = M & L *Politics and Letters* = P & L

1 For a detailed bibliography of Williams' writings see O'Connor, A (1989) *Raymond Williams: Writing, Culture, Politics,* Oxford: Basil Blackwell

[2] Williams, R (1960) *Border Country,* London: Chatto & Windus; (1964) *Second Generation*, London: Chatto & Windus; (1979) *The Fight for Manod,* London: Chatto & Windus

[3] Williams, R (1977) *Marxism and Literature,* Oxford: Oxford University Press (p.5)

[4] Rivzi, F 'Williams on Democracy and the Governance of Education' in Dworkin, D.L and Roman, L.G. (eds.) (1993) *Views Beyond the Border Country: Raymond Williams and Cultural Politics,* London: Routledge p.149

[5] Inglis, F (1995) *Raymond Williams,* London: Routledge p.244

[6] Williams, R and Orrom, M (1954) *Preface to Film*, London: Film Drama Limited, p.18

[7] PTF p.20/21

[8] PTF p.23/24

[9] PTF p.25

[10] PTF p.54

[11] Williams, Raymond (1958) *Culture and Society 1780 – 1950*, London: Chatto & Windus p.11/12

[12] C & S p.56

[13] C & S p.85

[14] C & S p.99

[15] C & S p.119

[16] C & S p.248

[17] C & S p.258

[18] Higgins, J (1999) *Raymond Williams: Literature, Marxism and Cultural Materialism*, London: Routledge, p.37

[19] Marx, K (1959) *Critique of Political Economy*, preface, Eng. Trans., Stone; pp.11ff

[20] C & S p.259

[21] C & S p.259/260

[22] C & S p.260

[23] C & S p.261/262

[24] Eldridge, J & Eldridge, L (1994) *Raymond Williams: Making Connections,* London: Routledge, p.37

[25] C & S p.266

[26] C & S p.269

[27] C & S pp.271-273

[28] C & S p.289

[29] Williams, R (1961) *The Long Revolution,* London: Chatto & Windus p.12

[30] TLR p.59

[31] TLR pp.63-65

[32] TLR p.136

[33] TLR p.307

[34] TLR p.374

[35] TLR p.381

[36] Althusser, Louis - 'Ideology and ideological state apparatuses', in Althusser, Louis(1971) *Lenin and Philosophy*, London: New Left Books. See also: Althusser, L (1972) *For Marx*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books

[37] Gramsci, Antonio (1971) *The Prison Notebooks*, London: Lawrence and Wishart

[38] M & L p.87/88

[39] Foucault, Michel (1977) *Discipline and Punish,* New York, USA: Pantheon

[40] M & L p.93

[41] Hall, Stuart (1980) 'Cultural studies and the Centre' in Hall, S *et al.* (eds) (1981) *Culture, Media Language,* London: Hutchinson.

[42] M & L p.112/113

[43] M & L p.121

[44] M & L p.122

[45] M & L p.122

[46] M & L p.122

[47] M & L p.122

[48] M & L p.123

[49] M & L p.124

[50] M & L p.124

[51] M & L p.126

[52] McGuigan, Jim (1993) 'Reaching for Control: Raymond Williams on Mass Communications and Popular Culture' in Morgan, J.W. & Preston, P (eds) (1993) *Raymond Williams – Politics, Education, Letters,* London: MacMillan, p.171

[53] M & L p.128

[54] M & L p.131

[55] M & L p.131

[56] M & L p.132

[57] M & L p.132

[58] M&L p.132

[59] M & L p.132

[60] M & L p.133

[61] M & L p.133/134

[62] Williams, R (1979) *Politics and Letters: Interviews with New Left Review*, London: New Left Books, p.159

[63] P & L p.164

[64] P & L p.167

[65] Bo Reimer, for example, has written: "I will treat postmodernism as the 'zeitgeist'or the *structures of feeling* of this age." Reimer, Bo (1989) 'Postmodern Structures of Feeling: Values and Lifestyles in the Postmodern Age' in Gibbins, John R. (ed.) (1989) *Contemporary Political Culture: Politics in a Postmodern Age*, London: Sage, p.111.
In contrast to Reimer, Fred Pfeil is one author who has employed the concept in ways that attempt to capture both the nuances and the central role of struggle that Williams articulated. See: Pfeil, Fred (1988) "Postmodernism as a 'Structure of Feeling'" in Nelson, Carry and Grossberg, Larry (eds.) (1988) *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture: Limits, Frontiers, Boundaries,* USA, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp.381 - 403
See also: Pfeil, Fred (1990) *Another Tale to Tell: Politics and Narrative in Postmodern Culture*, London: Verso

[66] Johnson, L (1979) *The Cultural Critics: From Matthew Arnold to Raymond Williams*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, p.166

[67] Thompson, E.P (1961) 'The Long Revolution' in *New Left Review*, no. 9, pp.24-33 & no.10, pp.34-39

[68] ibid. no.9, p.26

[69] ibid. p.30

[70] ibid. p.31

[71] ibid. p.24

[72] TLR foreword

[73] op. cit. p.24-5

[74] ibid. p.26

[75] ibid.

[76] Quoted in Eagleton, Terry (ed) (1989) *Raymond Williams: Critical Perspectives*, Cambridge: Polity Press, p.1

[77] op. cit. p.26

[78] ibid. p.28

[79] ibid. p.29

[80] ibid.p.33

[81] Eliot, T.S. (1948) *Notes towards the Definition of Culture*, London: Faber and Faber, p.31

[82] op. cit.p.33

[83] PTE p.25

[84] Fairlie, H - Review of 'Communications' – Encounter, August 1962 in Eldridge, J & Eldridge, L (1994) *Raymond Williams: Making Connections*, London: Routledge, p.5

[85] op.cit. p.35

[86] ibid.p.37

[87] M&L p.55

[88] M&L p.62

[89] M&L p,71

[90] op. cit. p.38

[91] Eldridge, J & Eldridge, L (1994), p.2

[92] Williams, R (1968) *May Day Manifesto*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, p.186

[93] Eagleton, Terry (1976) *Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory*, London: New Left Books

[94] For further details see the chapter on 'Contexts'

[95] op. cit. p.8

[96] ibid.

[97] ibid. p.15

[98] ibid. pp.33-34

[99] ibid. pp.16-17

[100] ibid. p.17

[101] Williams, Raymond (1970) *The English Novel from Dickens to Lawrence*, London: Chatto and Windus

[102] op. cit.p.19

[103] The founding texts of 'Cultural Studies' are often cited as Williams' *Culture and Society;* Hoggart, R (1958) *The Uses of Literacy*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books; and Thompson, E.P (1968) *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books

[104] Hall, S (1980) 'Politics and Letters' in Eagleton, T (1989) *Raymond Williams: Critical Perspectives*, Cambridge: Polity Press, p.62

[105] ibid.

[106] ibid.

[107] Hall, Stuart (1968) *The Hippies: An American Moment,* Birmingham: Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, p.3

[108] "General conception of the nature of the world, particularly as containing or implying a system of value-principles."
Bullock, A & Stallybrass, O (eds.) (1977) *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought* London: Fontana Books, p.673

[109] It is also interesting to note that Hall, in this same article, actually uses the concept to describe the 'beat' poets of the 1950's and early 1960's:
"They developed in writing and poetry a nightmare, apocalyptic vision of the inner disintegration of American society: but through this body of writing, *and the structure of feeling it embodies*, have gone a long way to providing something of the elementary rhetoric of the new American radicalism" (my emphasis) op.cit p.19

[110] Inglis, F (1995) p.167

[111] Middleton, P 'Why Structure Feeling?' in *News from Nowhere – Raymond Williams: Third Generation*, Oxford: Oxford English Limited, No.6, February, 1989, p.54

[112] Cowling, M (1990) 'Raymond Williams in retrospect' in *The New Criterion*, Vo. 8, No. 6 February

[113] P & L p.166

[114] M & L p.133

[115] McGuigan, Jim (1997) *Cultural Methodologies,* London: Sage, pp90-91

[116] Milner, Andrew (1993) *Cultural Materialism*, Australia: Melbourne University Press, pp.58-59

[117] Hall, Stuart (1980) 'Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms' in *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol 2, London: p.39

[118] Williams, Raymond (1975) 'You're a Marxist, Aren't You?" in Gable, Robin (ed) (1989) *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism: Raymond Williams*, London: Verso, p.67

CHAPTER THREE:

"CONTEXTS"

- Jesus Movements
- Radical Theology
- Radical Christianity
- The Counter Culture

CONTEXTS

The aim of this chapter is to outline some of the key contextual issues and debates which existed during the 1960s, and 70s. The focus will be on four selected aspects or 'moments',[1] all of which have a relevance and bearing on the radical Christianity that is the subject of this research. These four are: Jesus Movements; Radical Theology; Radical Christianity; and The Counter Culture. It is not my contention that these 'moments' are of equal importance to the attempts to articulate a radical Christian *structure of feeling*, or that they should be taken as the only determining factors. There are distinctive economic, political and social discourses which existed during the period which also provided important influences, and some of these will be referred to as appropriate. A thorough 'mapping' of all possible determining factors, however, lies beyond the scope of this thesis, and the aim here is to tease out those debates and activities that can be shown to have informed the thought and action of the radical Christians in their struggle to fashion an emergent *structure of feeling*.

Periodising the 'Sixties'

Before the discussion of these four issues, it is worth briefly considering some of the problems inherent in any attempt at 'periodisation'. The 1960s have been the subject of considerable attention, both in academic writing and in the media. The decade has been variously stigmatized as the source of all that is wrong with contemporary society - a period when the 'rot' well and truly set in [2] - or alternatively the period has been lionized as a 'very heaven' – a period when youth and protest coincided in an explosion of creative liberation. Mary Whitehouse's view was typically Manichean:

"The humanist movement...has propagated the philosophy that man can live by bread alone and is sufficient unto himself. As an intellectual exercise and a political conviction it has eaten like termites at the roots of our faith and our culture. In the sixties it permeated our mass media, our government, and even our Church."[3]

Angela Carter, however, is much more enthusiastic:

"There is a tendency to underplay, even to devalue completely the experience of the

1960s...but towards the end of that decade there was a brief period of public philosophical awareness that occurs only very occasionally in human history; when, truly it felt like Year One, when all that was holy was in the process of being profaned, and we were attempting to grapple with the real relations between human beings...furthermore, at a very unpretentious level, we were truly asking ourselves questions about the nature of reality."[4]

The truth, as ever, is probably more mundane, and lies between the poles of these extremes. It is also important to recognize that any attempt at periodisation can be deeply misleading.

Many of the activities and events under discussion here began during the 1960s. The flamboyant protests in Russia and in the UK staged by CHURCH began in 1967, and *The Catonsville Roadrunner* first appeared in 1969. Thus this is a phenomenon with its roots in the 'sixties'. Yet, it also continued well into the 1970s, with the eventual demise of the magazine, and the winding-up of the 'experiment in community' at *Wick Court*.

"Periodization, the chopping up of the past into chunks or periods, is essential because the past in its entirety is so extensive and complex...The implication of periodization is that particular chunks of time contain a certain unity, in that events, attitudes, values, social hierarchies within the chosen 'period' seem to be closely integrated with eachother, to share common features, and in that there are identifiable points of change when a 'period' defined in this way gives way to a new 'period'.[5]

Given that the main interest here is in trying to trace connections and linkages across a range of activities, in search of an emergent *structure of feeling*, then it is immediately clear that simply confining it to a strict chronological era, from 1960 – 1969 is too mechanistic. Most authors when discussing the 'sixties' face similar problems, and attempt to resolve it in a range of different ways. Sheila Rowbotham, for example, does confine herself to the decade, but her approach is largely autobiographical, and driven by a strong personal narrative. That doesn't mean that she doesn't offer some highly perceptive and incisive analysis, but that she recognises the radical changes that took place over the 10 years, and that lumping them together as either a 'golden era' or disparaging them as the 'evil decade' – as,

for example, Margaret Thatcher was wont to do [6] – are both wrong. Rowbotham argues that:

"Alternatively reviled and idealized, the sixties remain the controversial decade you are expected to see as all good or all bad. By wrenching aspects of experience out of context, this dichotomy inevitably distorts."[7]

Arthur Marwick, argues for a 'long sixties', which in his view runs from 1958, with the 'discovery' of the teenager, to 1974, when American forces withdrew from Vietnam. This view has, however, been criticized as both inadequate and unhelpful. As Veronica Howell puts it in her review of Marwick's book:

"His time frame and space parameters fray and sag as you read...every sentence in which he interprets, analyses and extrapolates is flaccid. He wombles." [8]

Jonathan Green, someone at least more intimately involved with cultural activity during the period than Marwick was, chooses 1965 – 1971 as his cut off points:

"The core period can be seen as running from the Albert Hall poetry reading of 1965, known as the 'Wholly Communion', to the trial of *OZ* magazine in 1971. The first would see the gathering, the second the dispersal." [9]

Barbara Tischler offers seven different 'frames' for considering 'the sixties', which Include Vietnam (1954-1973); The Civil Rights Movement (1954 – 1966); Black Power (1966-1969); and The Beatles to the Beat (1963-1972). [10] David Caute opts for a single year – 1968 – as the distillation and crystallisation of the ethos of the period. For him this "most turbulent year since the end of the Second World War" [11] acts as a metaphor for the upheavals that took place, though in practice his prologue begins in October 1967, with the mass demonstration outside the Pentagon in Washington, and ends in the final chapter entitled *The Decline of the New Left*, with references stretching into the 1980s. This is inevitable, for however much 1968 may have been defining, and that is perhaps questionable, a single year cannot serve in any serious analytical review. In order to understand the importance of the period, there is the need to trace backwards and look forwards, beyond the artificial boundaries dictated by the calendar.

That said, there also need to be limits. Without them, any analysis runs the risk of becoming unfocused and unmanageable. My own view coincides broadly with that put forward by Anthony Frewin:

"The sixties I always think, didn't really get going until about 1964, and didn't end until about 1972 or 1973. The early 1960s were, in every way, the fag end of the fifties – post-war austerity, drab, predictable...and not very imaginative or stylish. You see, the 1940s didn't end until about 1956. Then it was the 1950s until 1963 or '64 or so." [12]

It is also possible to argue that the 'sixties' carried on beyond the shift into the 'seventies', where changes in the *structure of feeling* at the level of popular culture become most obvious in the backlash of Punk Rock, around 1976 – 7, and following the political turmoil of the Heath government and the miner's strikes, the oil crises, and the 3-day week.

As far as the radical Christians are concerned, the main emphasis here is on the period from April 1967, when CHURCH first staged a series of street theatre protests in Bromley, Kent, to late 1978, when the *Student Christian Movement* made the decision to sell off *Wick Court*, and thus end the 'experiment in community'. Examining this period will, I believe, allow me to trace the struggles to articulate an emergent *structure of feeling*, though with occasional necessary references to events and ideas that pre-date and extend beyond these margins.

1. THE 'JESUS MOVEMENT'

The period under discussion saw the emergence and growth of a sizeable 'Jesus Movement' in both Britain and America. Viewed from the outside, or from a distance, it presented itself as a unified movement, perhaps best characterized as a curious blending of 'hippy' style and rigidly orthodox biblical fundamentalism, and seemingly owing more to the influence of the West Coast of America, than to the observably more sedate culture of Christianity in Britain.

The first, and most important feature, is that the 'movement' was not homogenous - it contained a plethora of conflicting and contradictory elements, which at times gave rise to considerable tension. In fact it is probably more accurate to think of Jesus movements, rather than a monolithic organisation. Whilst not wishing to lose sight of this heterogeneity, it is possible to delineate two opposing tendencies within the movement - The 'Jesus Movement' *per se*, and its radical counterpart. In fact the two (unequal) halves, superficially, shared a good deal in common. Both were centrally concerned with the institution of the church, and the connected issue of 'community'; with matters of faith and belief; and with relating their activities to the currents and trends of secular culture. Indeed, both were committed to engaging in overtly political, or at least moral, campaigns - although frequently, as will be shown, on opposing sides. These surface details should not, however, be allowed to obscure the very real divisions that existed, and the vast differences in both tone and content of the two contingents.

The Jesus Movement developed in Britain from about 1967 onwards, and reached a peak in the early years of the 70's - although it continued to exert an influence for considerably longer, can be said to still have an active effect on some aspects of contemporary Christianity today.[13] The initial bearers of the message of the movement were almost exclusively Americans, and leaving aside such seasoned campaigners as Billy Graham, included a number of charismatic (in all senses of the word) preachers. Pre-eminent amongst these were Arthur Blessitt, a clergyman from Mississippi who attracted a great deal of media attention for setting up a night club called 'His Place' in the middle of Sunset Strip in Beverly Hills, California [14], and for his habit of carrying a ten-foot wooden cross, and Larry Norman, a rock singer/evangelist, who has been credited with the dubious honour of being the 'instigator of Jesus Music'.[15]

Both Blessitt and Norman made several visits to Britain in the late 60's/early 70's, and attracted substantial crowds to their 'performances'. It is in fact difficult to know

how else to describe these events, since they were certainly not in any formal way church services but more closely resembled American-style presidential election rallies, complete with massed choirs and brass bands. Blessitt summed up the ideals of the movement on a visit to Birmingham in 1971:

"The real marks of the Jesus revolution are first joy, and happiness in worship, a spirit of happiness. Second, a real commitment to Jesus Christ, to the historic and living Christ, and to the word of God, the Bible as the truth. Third, a tremendous compassionate and humanitarian attitude towards our fellow man. Fourth, a great zeal in telling others about Jesus Christ. Fifth, a spirit of victory that has long slipped away from the Church." [16]

Norman, by way of contrast, had a much more doom-laden view, in common with many of the American 'Jesus Freaks', as they came to be known. This led him to predict, in a characteristic blend of apocalyptic pessimism and evangelical fervour:

"A time when believers of Jesus Christ will be forced underground in the worship of God; a time of persecution when we shall be imprisoned, tortured and even killed for our beliefs." [17]

The pervasiveness of secularism was a major concern for many of the Jesus People. It is almost as if Norman, and others, looked forward to such a time of persecution, as this would provide them with a more clearly defined context. They seem to believe that the nebulousness of contemporary culture acted as a barrier to true evangelism. What Blessitt and Norman, and the majority of the movements most prominent members shared, however, was a theologically fundamentalist approach to Christianity. This led them, as one might suspect, to be essentially conservative in their outlook, and despite the long-hair and flowing robes, the language of revolution and insurrection, and the emphasis on 'love' as central features, the movement shared very little, beyond appearances, with the prevailing 'counter-culture' it tried to mimic stylistically and whose members it sought to attract.

In fact there was a stark contrast between developments in theology at the time, and the attitudes of the Jesus People. In 1971 *Time* magazine published its famous article on the 'Jesus Revolution'. In it they outlined this contradiction:

"The Jesus Revolution rejects not only the material values of conventional America but also the prevailing wisdom of American theology. Christianity – or at least the

brand of it preached in prestige seminaries, pulpits and church offices over recent decades – has emphasized an immanent God of nature and social movement, not the new movement's transcendental personal God who comes to earth in the person of Jesus, in the lives of individuals, in miracles. The Jesus Revolution, in short, is one that denies the virtues of the Secular City and heaps scorn on the message that God was ever dead." [18]

But what also emerges clearly is that without the 'counter-culture' there would have been no Jesus Movement. Or at least, it would have existed in very different ways. The two are inextricably linked, and it is simply not possible to consider one without the other. The delicate interlinkings of influence and the exchange of ideas and strategies are especially relevant when discussing the radical tendency, since it is here that the connections were made most explicit, and actively cultivated. This is not to suggest that the conservatives were wholly unsuccessful in their efforts to gain new recruits, but merely to emphasise the point that stylistic presentation is rarely an authoritative indicator of political or moral values. As Bernice Martin points out in her discussion of liturgical innovations:

"The adoption of informality, tactile demonstrations of mutual affection (real or affected) and all the apparatus of religious anti-structure and congregational *communitas* acted as a kind of 'counter-reformation' innoculation against the counter-cultural disease. The radical style was employed to protect a conservative or traditionalist religious core." [19]

This is a point well-made. Many conservative Evangelical groups at the time were keen to embrace the style of free-flowing services, guitars and amplifiers, instead of sung canticles and organ voluntaries, 'sharing the peace' by hugging your neighbour, although these additions did not reflect an underlying shift in theology or power within the church.

Typically this conservativism was manifest around such issues as abortion, and homosexuality, and substantial numbers of these young evangelical Christians were active in wide-ranging moral campaigns such as the *Festival of Light*. [20] This was an initiative founded to counter 'moral pollution' in the mass media, and to proclaim the

Christian gospel as the answer. It had a strongly 'anti-permissive' line, especially on the subject of pornography, and held a number of public rallies and marches. Prominent members of the Jesus Movement could be seen enthusiastically sharing a platform with the more staid figures of Lord Longford, Malcolm Muggeridge and Mary Whitehouse. Whilst the *Festival of Light* attracted a great deal of press coverage, it was not exactly the unprompted manifestation of distaste with the prevailing moral climate that it appeared to be, as David Perman commented:

"Many young people were under the impression that the *Festival of Light* was a spontaneous gathering of young people and that these young people, like the Jesus freaks in America, were turning to Jesus partly from their own revulsion with the 'moral pollution' of secular society. That view was wide of the mark. The Festival was a skillfully managed revivalist campaign with strong puritanical overtones, in the mainstream of Billy Graham, Tom Rees and the evangelical tradition. There was nothing wrong with that, of course. It brought great joy to thousands of ordinary young churchpeople and a little flavour of the American Jesus movement. What it did not do was in any sense to bridge the gap between the churches and the alternative youth culture." [21]

These events also prompted Kenneth Leech to remark at the time:

"Many of those within the Jesus Movement are as reactionary and politically right-wing as their revivalist predecessors were. There is a conflict here within the Jesus culture itself, which comprises revolutionary, right-wing and 'non-political' viewpoints, as well as 'hip' and 'straight'. " [22]

Whilst figures such as Blessit were sometimes critical of the role of the institutional churches, describing them as a 'cosy club, dismal, almost morbid, a place from which Christians look out' [23], there is little doubt that, in Britain at least, the Jesus Movement attracted a substantial number of its' followers from within the denominational churches. For their part, the churches' response, at least officially, was one of cautious welcome in the main, although it is clear that there were a range of reactions according to particular local activities. Some parishes held regular 'youth services' where pop music and liturgical innovations were incorporated.

Examples include:

"A moonlight barbecue organized by the young people's fellowship of Christ Church, Virginia Water, Surrey, in the summer of 1968 was advertised by psychedelic posters and...revolving coloured spotlights picked out two Christian pop groups as they sang in a clearing in the woods." [24]

Others were less enthusiastic, issuing grim warnings from the pulpit about the evils of long-hair, but overall the picture is one of muted tolerance, and even some manipulation. As Leech, himself an Anglo-Catholic, commented:

"It would be quite mistaken to see the Jesus and charismatic movements as being predominantly outside the church institutions. Indeed, in Britain, it is probably true to say that...the Jesus people are drawn mainly from within the established churches. Some would claim that the British Jesus movements are not indigenous growths from the youth culture at all, but have been manufactured by the churches as ways of communicating with youth."[25]

The radical tendency also emerged towards the end of the 1960's, although it should be pointed out straight away that it was never as focused as the Jesus Movement, and that a great deal of its' energy was expended on attempts at self-definition. It is pertinent at this stage to highlight the difference in attitudes towards authority as being extremely influential. Where the Jesus Movement was, by and large, prepared to accept very rigid discipline and structured doctrines, the radicals were more anarchic in spirit, and in many cases politically too. Where the Jesus People were most often linked to a church, the radicals operated largely outside and even against ecclesiastical structures – as can be seen in their creation of the *Liberated Church*, during the *Catonsville Roadrunner* phase of their activities. [26]

There was also a moment in the early 70's when the phrase *'Jesus Christ Superstar'* referred to much more than just the title of a rock opera. Opinions differ as to whether 1971 or 1972 was the 'year of Jesus', [27], although at the time evangelical magazine *BUZZ* claimed:

"It was DJ Jimmy Saville who predicted that 1972 would be 'a very good year for

Jesus', and he is going to be proved right during the next few months, as an incredible amount of 'Jesus' activity is on the way." [28]

It is indeed remarkable the extent to which the iconography of Jesus gained a cultural currency far beyond the confines of religion. A succession of musicals - including *Jesus Christ Superstar* (JCS) and *Godspell* - books, newspaper and magazine articles, roadshows, events, and happenings, all bear witness to this. Songs like '*Amazing Grace*', '*Put Your Hand in the Hand*' and '*My Sweet Lord*' reached the pop charts and stickers bearing slogans such as 'Smile, Jesus Loves You!' and 'Turn on to Jesus' began to appear.

Much of this material, however, had little direct relationship with any organised Christian group, or even any connection with religious faith. Tim Rice and Andrew Lloyd Webber, co-writers of JCS, consistently pointed out that they were not Christians, but that they were attracted to the charisma of the biblical portrayal of Jesus:

"Our attitude is more or less the same, that we are unable ourselves to see Christ as a God and we see him as a phenomenally remarkable man, a very inspiring man." [29]

Indeed many of the groups that comprised the Jesus Movement, were openly hostile towards what they saw as the 'blasphemous' appropriation of Jesus by a commercialised pop culture - if Jesus was to reach a larger audience it had to be on their (strictly defined) terms and not in the hands of pop musicians and journalists. On the opening night of JCS in London, Jesus People demonstrated outside the theatre carrying slogans stating that "This is not our Jesus",[30] and *BUZZ* magazine carried the banner headline: "Jesus is no superstar. He is the Son of God. Accept no substitute." [31] Despite this, some clerical figures, albeit in a somewhat bewildered way, welcomed the renewed interest in Jesus. The Dean of St. Paul's saw JCS as posing a number of legitimate questions:

"There are some people who may be shocked by this record. I ask them to listen to it and think again. "Who are you Jesus Christ?" is the urgent inquiry, and a very proper one at that."[32]

By and large there is little evidence to suggest that the radicals were actively involved in this debate, and their discernable attitude is one of indifference. Although prominent radical Christian Viv Broughton had taken part as a drummer in *Musical Gospel Outreach* (MGO) events during the 1960s, by and large there was little or no attention given to these later pop encounters with Jesus.

One further point deserves discussion under this heading and that is the class-based nature of the 'Jesus Revolution', and the fact that it undeniably had most impact amongst white middle-class youth. This was something that the Jesus Movement groups seemingly felt comfortable with, but which brought forth withering scorn from the radicals. The full reasons for this are complex and beyond the scope of this thesis, though they would seem to turn on a fundamental theological division. The Jesus Movement was evangelical, almost puritanical in certain manifestations, and thus, whilst keen to recruit new members, its' concerns were most often inwardly directed towards the group itself - strict discipline, a rigidly enforced moral code, and a reliance on leaders and authority are all common features. This can been seen as the inevitable outcome of a theology that is millenial and adventist - that stresses preparedness and purity above social action, and that is gnostic (and gnomic) in both style and content. This ready acceptance to operate with a fairly homogenous class-base is also evidence of the inherent political conservatism of the groups concerned. The radicals, despite their differences, tended to be much more outward looking and convinced of the need to engage in struggle. They drew their support from a much wider class base [33] and their theological approach was more immanentist than transcendent, and placed far greater emphasis on the aspects of 'community' and solidarity with the oppressed. 'Community' for the Jesus Movement was inseparable from 'church' – for the radicals 'community' meant primarily those outside the 'church', although defining this precisely was a continual source of tension and debate throughout the period.

The Jesus movement despite its stylistic presentation, and adoption of the trappings of 'hippiedom', was in reality deeply conservative, both theologically and politically. It rode on the bandwagon of the popular cultural appropriation of the figure of Jesus, and attempted to shape this to its own ends. In this sense then, it was a Trojan horse, infiltrating the citadels of secular culture, in order to evangelise.

Having examined the development and growth of the Jesus Movement, I now want to consider the second of the four aspects, namely Theology.

2. RADICAL THEOLOGY

Given that the group under discussion were Christians, it should be self-evident that some consideration of theology is necessary in order to understand their motivations. This is perhaps all the more true, when one takes into account the fact that around the time that this group were active, there was an upsurge in theological debate and public discussion of this, and there existed various attempts to reframe some of the ways in which the concept of God could be applied to the contemporary cultural setting. This section deals with two distinct aspects. The first is the applicability of the term 'radical', and discusses the ways in which this epithet was applied both to theology, and to the group in question. The second will look in some detail at the various new theologies that emerged during the 1960's, with particular emphasis on the work of John A T Robinson; the 'Death of God' theologians especially William Hamilton and Thomas Altizer; and Harvey Cox author of *The Secular City*. [34]

Subsequent chapters will offer an assessment of the actual impact of these theological developments on the activities of CHURCH and *Roadrunner*, and show that there is a connection to be made between the two, although that connection rested on shared impulses, such as a commitment to anti-authoritarianism, and a

deep concern with re-defining the concept of community, rather than any overt sharing of theological perspectives.

'RADICAL' ?

The term 'Radical Christianity' has its own history, most of which lies beyond the bounds of this research. The *Levellers*, the *Diggers*, the *Quakers*, even the *Methodists* can all lay claim to the term. In the early twentieth century, organisations such as the *Christian Socialists* and the *Guild of St. Matthew* engaged in activities, and espoused a politics which have also led to them being labelled as 'radical'.[35] That the term has a vexed and complex usage is easily demonstrated by Christopher Rowlands' book *Radical Christianity* which whilst claiming to 'document the history of radical Christianity by discussing some of the most important developments and figures', avoids all mention of any of the theologians from the 1960's, including the most well known in a British context, John Robinson, who at the time was the Bishop of Woolwich. [36]

Christopher Rowland describes radicalism as "tearing things up by the roots", but goes on to stress that for him this means a process of "continual critique of every project and institution, whether temporal or spiritual, *in the light of the reign of peace and justice to come*." [37] [my emphasis]

Thus Rowland's version of radicalism, whilst it appears at first glance to countenance a wide-ranging re-examination of every aspect of received wisdom and practice, can only take place within the context of a pre-existing faith, and seems not to allow for a re-examination of faith itself. Rowland in fact explicitly rules out all discussion of the grounds for belief when he argues that any tearing up of the roots must be done:

"...from a perspective of a commitment to the roots of religion, the story of Jesus of Nazareth and his proclamation of the reign of God which confronts us on the pages of the gospels." [38]

To take another example, Andrew Walker, in his study of the House Church movement, describes *Restorationism* as 'radical Christianity':

"Ever since the word (radical) became associated firstly with the Whigs, then later with Liberalism and Socialism, it has become very difficult to disassociate it from politics of a reformist or revolutionary kind. In calling Restorationism 'radical Chrsitianity', I want to make it clear that I am invoking no political meaning. Indeed, politically speaking, Restorationism is neither radically left-wing nor right-wing; like so many enthusiastic religious movements, Restorationism tends to be apolitical." [39]

It is perhaps difficult to reconcile the views on, for example, patriarchal authority, homosexuality, and abortion, predominant in so much of the House Church movement, with a stance that could be meaningfully described as 'apolitical', but Walker himself points this out:

"Another extended usage of 'radical' is to make it synonymous with 'liberal' and apply the term to either morality or theology. If we take this to mean against tradition and think of such examples as 'situation ethics' and demythologising theology, then *Restoration* is clearly not radical at all in this sense." [40]

This is helpful, especially since these two examples - 'situation ethics' and demythologising theology - can be said to lie close to the heart of the CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/Wick project. According to Walker the 'Restorationists' employ a linguistic device to explain their use of the term 'radical'. Tracing the term back to its Latin root *radix*, they are thus able to claim that a radical Christian is one who returns to the roots, a 'back-to-basics' radicalism. Interestingly John Robinson makes much the same use of the etymology [41], but to a quite different effect. His version of 'back-to-basics' allows an opportunity for greater exploration of the meaning of God in a secular age, whereas for the 'Restorationists' it is a much more oxymoronic 'conservative radicalism' that is being invoked. Thus - in the same way that Restorationism is <u>not</u> radical in the twin sense of politics and morals/theology – CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/Wick, clearly <u>was</u>. Its politics were firmly left of centre - quasi revolutionary even - and its moral/theological perspectives were highly situational - especially in the later phase at *Wick Court*, where several 'experimental relationships' formed. [42]

It might seem that the term 'radical' has such a varied history that any use of it is more likely to confuse than to illuminate. There are, however, two good reasons why it can be usefully applied to both the theologians and the members of CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/Wick. Firstly, it is a term that was used by them to describe their own activities, although, as will be shown, the use of the term varied at times. Secondly, it carries with it a connotation of political involvement against the prevailing status quo, and in this sense it implies the adoption of a critical stance against orthodoxy in both the institutional church, and the wider society - a perspective which both the theologians and CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/Wick actively embraced.

Clearly both these reasons require a fuller examination, and to do so it is necessary to consider the theologians and the CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/Wick group separately. As a preliminary it is important to fully recognise that the theologians and the theologies under discussion here did not form an homogenous 'school' or grouping, and that there were substantial differences in both style and content. This point will be elaborated upon in the discussion of the theologies themselves. The label of 'radical' is one, however, that was applied at the time as a blanket term to describe the theologies of such diverse writers as John Robinson, William Hamilton, Thomas Altizer, Harvey Cox, and Paul Van Buren amongst others. Of these it is John Robinson who made most explicit use of the term, and who argued the case for its applicability most fully. In an article for *The Listener* in February 1963, he puts it thus:

"What the radical stands for can perhaps be more clearly seen by comparing him with the reformist on the one hand and the revolutionary on the other.
The reformist...overhauls the institution and titivates the orthodoxy; and in this way everything is enabled to go on smoothly, and the revolution is averted. The revolutionary, on the other hand (believes) the institution is rotten, the orthodoxy stinks and enslaves. The entire structure must be changed if man is to be free.
The radical will often be found siding with the revolutionary in regarding the reformist as the real enemy...The radical is an 'insider' - yet always a bad party-member, an unsafe churchman. He is continually questioning the shiboboleths, re-examining the orthodoxies. And he will have a disconcerting habit of finding himself closer to those whose integrity he respects than to those whose conclusions he shares." [43]

This theme is one which occupied Robinson throughout his writing, and which he returned to on several occasions. [44]

In the introduction to his most well-known book, *Honest to God* (1963) which provoked so much controversy at the time of its publication and beyond, Robinson included the following oft-quoted passage:

"What I have tried to say, in a tentative and exploratory way, may seem radical, and doubtless to many heretical. The one thing of which I am fairly sure is that, in retrospect, it will be seen to have erred in not being radical enough." [45]

Regarding the implied connotations of 'radical' as a critic of existing structures in both the church and society at large, closer examination of the actual theologies is needed to substantiate this claim, but for now it should be sufficient to point out that in church terms the writers whilst remaining 'committed insiders', were typically engaged mostly at the margins of the institutional church. Robinson's appointment as Bishop of Woolwich, one of the most junior bishoprics in the Church of England, was fiercely opposed by several prominent church figures of the day including the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher. Likewise his career in academia was dogged by controversy, and uncertainty, and it is also clear that his life-long support for such causes as CND proved deeply unpopular in both cloister and senior common room. [46]

The term 'radical' was also used by CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/Wick to describe themselves, although early issues of the magazine displayed some uncertainty. The very first issue carried the sub-title '*Radical Christian Monthly*', then issues 2-5 were labeled more stridently as '*Revolutionary Christian Monthly*'. There followed a number of humourous headings for various issues including '*Christian Extravaganza*' (issue 6), '*Monthly Jesus Show*' (issue 7), and '*People Encyclical*' (issue 8). [47]

This interchangeability of 'radical' and 'revolutionary', inspired continuing debate on

the letters pages:

"A Revolutionary Christian journal is a contradiction in terms. Revolution in practice involves hatred and destruction: Christianity is concerned with creation and love." [48]

"Advertised extensively as a Radical Christian Monthly, I feel that Roadrunner is only fulfilling two of its claims, namely Radical and Monthly. I have always been dubious of the Christianity which lay behind Roadrunner. However the last few issues have convinced me completely that there is in fact very little or no Christianity in Roadrunner." [49]

This view was, however, largely limited to those who showed little sympathy with any of *Roadrunners'* aims or objectives. One of the most eloquent discussions of this issue appeared in an editorial written by David Poolman in *Roadrunner* no. 7. Claiming that the greatest deficiency in the political church was the absence of a working vocabulary, Poolman went on to criticize the use of the words such as 'Bourgeois', to describe modern America, or 'socialist' to describe the Labour Party. Foregrounding the use of language as itself a political act with consequences for action, the editorial continued:

"Similarly, "revolutionary" hardly applies to well-fed, unadventurous editors of Christian magazines...Unfortunately we are in danger of building new divisions by establishing a new "radical" culture. But to be a Roadrunner does not imply that one is a pot-smoking, hot-gospelling, profligate priest who calls the cardinal a fascist thug. The good nuns in the movement are not, as far as we know (Sister Dominic, please note) swinging disciples of Coltrane, hoarding hemp in their wimples. To be the salt of the earth is embarrassingly simple. An important step in this would be to encourage all to speak a new language. To do this we have to break the strangle hold of political, theological and sexual illiteracy. Oh, where are *our* poets?" [50]

The adoption of a critical stance against the prevailing status quo is a self-evident feature of both *Roadrunner* as a magazine, and the various actions which CHURCH became involved with - ranging from the Moscow demonstration, to the events at the Lambeth Conference, and the linked actions as part of the *Vietnam Solidarity Campaign* demonstrations in Grosvenor Square.[51] On one level the magazine acted as a noticeboard for a range of radical Christian initiatives - such as *Kenosis*, a 'radical theology group' organised by Peter Lumsden.[52] At the same time links were established with other radical magazines, and the wider radical scene at the time.

Evidence for this includes the fact that *Roadrunner* was part of underground magazine distribution networks, such as - *Cosmic Overground Syndicated Magazine Interchange Co-operative* (COSMIC) – and *Underground Press Syndicate (UPS)* - which included titles such as '*Gandalf's Garden*', '*OZ*', '*IT*' in the UK. This network allowed the sharing of information, and the re-printing of articles, cartoons, and graphics. [53]

In this section it has been shown that the term 'radical' is one applicable to both the theologians under discussion, and the activists involved with CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/Wick. It was a term employed in self-description, and one that fits the political orientation of those involved. The following section will look more closely at the theology itself, and draw out those themes which have most direct relevance for this research.

RADICAL THEOLOGY

"Catch-phrases like 'the swinging Sixties' and 'the permissive society' have become a universal shorthand for an age reckoned to be somehow very distant from our own. Within the churches, 'sixties theology' is commonly recalled with a kind of affectionate but wry smile: a novelty, fad or eccentricity, a temporary aberration from the mainstream of theological concern." [54]

During the 1960's a number of new slogans emerged to describe recent theological writing. 'New Theology', 'Religionless Christianity', 'Secular Theology', 'Christian Atheism' and the 'Death of God Theology', were all phrases applied at one time or another, often interchangeably. There were in fact substantial differences between many of the writers, and, as mentioned earlier, any suggestion that there was a separate distinctive 'school' within which all the various writings could be grouped is plainly wrong. As J Sperna Weiland argued – "There is no single new theology but rather a series of projects." [55] It is, however possible to discern something of a shared impulse amongst the writings which emerged at this time, and further more to pick out some shared thematic elements, although the responses to these, were

markedly different. Broadly speaking this 'new theology' arose against the background of a number of key theological debates surrounding the issues of 'secularisation'. This is a topic that has attracted considerable critical debate and argument, but in broad terms the process of secularisation is seen by some as the slow decline of the influence of organised religion in the ordering of both public and private activities. According to this thesis, where once decisions on matters such as state policy, and public morality required reference to a religious framework, now such references are seen as unnecessary, indeed, irrelevant. The start of this decline has been variously dated to the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, or the post-war period in Britain. [56]

By no means all commentators are convinced of the validity of the secularisation thesis. Alasdair MacIntyre, for instance, argues that if there has been a process of secularization, it has been both less complete and less radical than is sometimes supposed:

"Not only has the last king not yet been strangled with the entrails of the last priest...what has actually happened is that Christianity, has in advanced industrial communities, not been replaced by anything at all." [57]

Some reject the validity of the concept all together. David Martin, for instance, argues that it is wrong to think of a unitary process called 'secularisation' arising in reaction to a set of characteristics called 'religious'. Further to this he also argues that secularization is the "tool of counter-religious ideologies" and that it should be "erased from the sociological dictionary." [58] For others secularisation is a sign of progress, and indicates the unfettering of the human spirit from the shackles of programmatic religion.[59] This was broadly the view shared by the radical theologians under discussion here.

Simply put, three central themes emerged to which the radical theology was a response. These were the crises of *relevance*, *intelligibility* and *communication*. Christianity, or more precisely the concept of God, was seen as remote, and the

language used in discussion seemingly designed more to exclude than to welcome. With this is mind it is possible to highlight two overriding concerns in the radical theology - firstly the need for a comprehensive reformulation of theology itself. That is to say, that the ways in which God are discussed needed to be radically reassessed to account for changes in contemporary culture. Secondly the institutions of Christianity - primarily the Church - needed a similar restructuring, as a response to both the new ways of thinking and talking about God, and also the changed needs of a secularised society. It is worth pointing out that much of secularisation theory depends on a belief in a one-time homogenous community. It characterises the move from Church to World as a serious of breaks in Church/State links over a range of spheres of activity and influence – such as economics, education, social and cultural practices. Positing a 'lost community' of a rural idyll is a theme popular with a number of critics across a range of disciplines. [60] Whist the analysis of a shift in economic and social life is correct, the implication of a healthy happy 'folk' is entirely mythical. It is, however, important to recognise that implicit in the concept of secularisation is a concern with community, both in terms of organised religion, and in the wider society. Thus the shape of these communities and their interdependency is a recurring motif in much of the writing.

Rather than attempting to give an overview of all the writings which could be grouped under the heading 'Radical Theology', I have chosen to concentrate on three main contributions. These are, firstly John A T Robinson; secondly The '*Death of God*' writers, and in particular William Hamilton and Thomas Altizer; thirdly Harvey Cox. It can be argued that there are many other writers whose work merits discussion, pre-eminently Paul Tillich and even Dietrich Bonhoeffer, but I have chosen to concentrate on work written during the period under discussion, which contributed to the much-vaunted 'crisis in the churches', and which, in however modified a form, had some discernable impact on the theology of the group in question, and their struggles to articulate an emergent radical Christian *structure of feeling.*

JOHN A T ROBINSON

"The most fundamental categories of our theology – God, the supernatural, and religion itself – must go into the melting. Indeed, though we shall not of course be able to do it, I can at least understand what those mean who urge that we should do well to give up using the word 'God' for a generation, so impregnated has it become with a way of thinking we may have to discard it if the Gospel is to signify anything." [61]

Although for the most part developments in theology are rarely disseminated beyond the confines of a specifically ecclesiastical audience, from time to time certain theological debates attract the attention of the media, and hence a wider public. During the 1990s David Jenkins, the former Bishop of Durham, was one example of this phenomenon, with his theologically unremarkable views on the virgin birth and the physical resurrection. Trevor Huddleston and Bruce Kent are others who have gained notoriety for their activities in anti-racist campaigns and within CND. There is also Don Cuppitt – Dean of Emmanuel College, Cambridge and founder of the *Sea of Faith* movement, who has described himself as a 'Christian Buddhist', and a 'postmodern' theologian. [62] In the 1960's attention focused on John Robinson, Bishop of Woolwich, and in particular on his book '*Honest to God*'. [63]

This slim paperback was the focus of a fully-fledged 'moral panic'. [64] Numerous other books appeared either supporting Robinson or condemning him as a heretic, and he himself published further material expanding on and attempting to explain his views. [65]

Alex Vidler's assessment was that:

"Whilst some of the devout were shocked by *Honest to God*, multitudes of readers welcomed it both as a frank and patently honest acknowledgement of the need for a new deal in theology and as an attempt to express the gist of the Christian faith in a fresh frame of reference." [66]

In essence Robinson's thesis was that for Christianity to be meaningful to contemporary society, it needed to radically re-think its images of and languages

about God:

"We shall eventually be no more able to convince men of the existence of a God 'out there' whom they must call in to order their lives than persuade them to take seriously the gods of Olympus. If Christianity is to survive, let alone to recapture 'secular' man, there is no time to lose in detaching it from this scheme of thought, from this particular theology or *logos* about *theos*, and thinking hard about what we should put in its place." [67]

Arguments along these lines had been a feature of theological enquiry long before *Honest to God*. What Robinson did though was to thoroughly root the debate in the context of the social. In ways that echoed the work of Paul Tillich, [68] Robinson argued:

"God is not 'out there'...for the word 'God' denotes the ultimate depth of our being, the creative ground and meaning of all our existence." [69]

The emphasis on 'our', as opposed to 'mine' or' yours', is crucial, and illustrates the central notion of collectivity that underpins the entire book. This is encapsulated in a later passage:

"For the Bible 'the deep things of God' cannot be understood simply by searching the depths of the individual soul. God, since he is Love, is encountered in his fullness only '*between* man and man'. And this is the burden of the whole Prophetic tradition - that it is only in response and obedience to the neighbour that the claims of God can be met and known." (original emphasis) [70]

This points firmly in the direction of a social Gospel - one that relies on the interaction between people. The message is that one cannot be a Christian and remain an individualist in any way, shape or form. Christianity, in Robinson's view, depends on recognition of the shared context, and mutuality of interest. It is not a question of having an individual faith which then prompts one to social action - a position often associated with evangelicals - rather it is in the social that such a faith finds its foundations, and it is inexpressible in terms of individual subjectivity alone.

Whilst certainly open to contestation, this aspect of Robinson's writing was well within a tradition of theological enquiry that places the emphasis on the immanence of God, as opposed to the transcendence. Brian Wicker, albeit from an explicitly

Catholic perspective, also supported this argument:

"The concept of God is always shaped by our particular needs at a particular place and time in human history. If the concept of the 'God of the gaps' was once a relevant concept, this was because of the cultural needs of the time. If the God of the incarnation is needed now, it is because of our own cultural needs." [71]

What provoked the greatest controversy, however, were the Bishop's views on what came to be known as '*situation ethics*', as Weiland observed at the time:

"The essence of *Honest to God* is not to be found in Robinson's theological and Christological arguments or in his rejection of a God who is 'out there', but in his notes on the 'new morality'." [72]

Taking St. Augustine's famous dictum *"Ama Deum et quod vis fac" (*Love God, and then do what you will), in an attempt to break free from the bounds of 'supranaturalistic legalism', Robinson placed the emphasis on 'love' as moral arbiter:

"Nothing can of itself always be labelled as 'wrong'. One cannot, for instance, start from the position 'sex relations before marriage' or 'divorce' are wrong or sinful in themselves. They may be in 99 cases or even 100 cases out of 100, but they are not intrinsically so, for the only intrinsic evil is lack of love." [73]

The nature of this love is closer to *agape* - Christian love in and from community, than *eros* - emotional or sexual love, but this point was mostly overlooked in the furore following the publication of the book, and an article by Robinson in *The Observer* entitled *'Our Image of God Must Go'.* [74] Critics of the book were numerous and vocal - including C.S. Lewis, and The Archbishop of Wales - and the ensuing debate attracted considerable media interest. Ved Mehta, in his book *The New Theologian,* summed up the tone of the criticisms:

"The style of the book, like that of a schoolboy's composition, was showy - bulging and straining at almost every point with far-fetched analogies constructed for purposes of polemics...In this ethic of the situation, there was not even any hard and fast Christian rule about sexual experience before marriage, since there was nothing intrinsically evil except lack of love. But how was one to set about telling the believers from the non-believers? Here, as elsewhere - in fact, throughout the book - the Bishop left one in no doubt that he wanted to have things both ways. Though he had said that divorce and premarital sex experience were not in themselves wrong, he nevertheless insisted that they might be wrong 'in 99 cases or even 100 cases out of 100'.

This was actually prejudging the situational ethic. The radical thinking, it turned out, was rooted, if not in the church of the Pharisees, in something pretty close to it." [75]

It was, however, the criticisms of the then Archbishop of Canterbury - Arthur Michael Ramsey - that received most attention. Speaking in a Presidential address to the Convocation of Canterbury just over a week after having published his own booklet in response to Robinson's - entitled *Image Old and New* - Ramsey had this to say:

"I was specially grieved at the method chosen by the Bishop for presenting his ideas to the public. We are asked to think that the enterprise was a matter of being 'tentative', 'thinking aloud', 'raising questions', and the like. But the initial method chosen was a newspaper article, crystal clear in its argument and provocative in its shape and statement, to tell the public that the concept of a personal God as held both in popular Christianity and in orthodox doctrine is outmoded and that atheists and agnostics are right to reject it. Of course, the association of this thesis with a Bishop of the Church caused public sensation and did much damage." [76]

In his curiously paternalistic manner, which a group of CHURCH activists were to encounter a few years later [77], Ramsey seems most affronted by the clarity of the arguments and the manner of their presentation, i.e. a newspaper. The implicit suggestion is that these ideas were all very well if confined to the seminary or the high table, but that wider discussion of them was to be avoided at all costs.

Leaving aside the controversy, a re-reading of *Honest to God* reveals Robinson's attempts to articulate (in the sense of both giving expression to, and of linking) theology and church structure. His reappraisal of the images of God necessitates a change in the ways of worshipping that God.

"Extant frameworks reflect older conceptions of the deity, and need to be replaced with newer forms, that are more responsive to the contemporary cultural setting. The purpose of worship is not to retire from the secular into the department of the religious, let alone to escape from 'this world' into 'the other world', but to open oneself to the meeting of the Christ in the common, to that which has the power to penetrate its superficiality and redeem it from its alienation. The function of worship is to make us more sensitive to these depths; to focus, sharpen and deepen our response to the world and to other people beyond the point of proximate concern (of liking, self-interest, limited commitment, etc.) to that of ultimate concern. " [78]

Although this perspective is imprecise as to the forms such worship might take, it

offers a theological justification for just the kind of liturgical innovations later developed by *Roadrunner* and at *Wick Court*. It is important to distinguish between this form of argument, which gives rise to the use of 'secular' styles in church services, and the arguments that underpin the evangelicals seemingly similar approach. For the evangelicals, the use of popular cultural forms, such as pop/rock music is part of a proclamation that there are no splits between 'sacred' and 'secular'.[79] For the radicals such a usage recognised the gulf between the world and the church, and came down decisively on the side of the world.

Robinson was unambiguous on this point:

"The basic commitment to Christ may have been in the past – and may be for most of us still – buttressed and fortified by many lesser commitments – to a particular projection of God, a particular 'myth' of the Incarnation, a particular code of morals, a particular pattern of religion. Without the buttress it may look as if all would collapse. Nevertheless, we must beware of clinging to the buttress instead of to Christ. And still more must we beware of insisting on the buttress as the way to Christ. For to growing numbers in our generation they are barriers rather than supports." [80]

This is really the crux of his argument. There is still a God that exists as an 'ultimate reality', but that cannot be defined by a specifically 'religious' conception. All attempts to fix the image of God, or the language that is used to talk about a God who is 'out there', are, in Robinson's view contingent and historically determined – they are not absolutes. For him the only absolute is God, and that what that means cannot be specified in any trans-historical way.

Evaluating the precise contribution made by *Honest to God* to the theology of the radicals is extremely difficult, but what is clear is that it opened up an intellectual space which was invaluable to them. It allowed them to move away from a strictly transcendent view of God 'out there', towards a much more immanent view of God, as inherent in community. There is no doubt that this was an influential element in their attempts to articulate an emerging *structure of feeling*.

THE DEATH OF GOD

Equally important, and in ways that were perhaps more directly felt at the time, was the work of a group of writers who came to be known as the 'Death of God' theologians. This title can be misleading, since it covers a range of writers, with often contradictory and conflicting theological views, as Alec Vidler pointed out:

"The so–called 'Death of God' theologians or 'Christian atheists' did not really form a coherent group with a common mind, nor was what they said as new in reality as it was to most people in appearance...Their common determination was to take seriously the complete secularization of contemporary culture." [81]

Whilst it may not have been wholly new, drawing as it did on Nietzsche's famous phrase – "God is dead. God remains dead. And we have killed him" [82] - it certainly had an impact on the radical Christians, as Laurens Otter, one of the founding members of Christian CND in the 1950's, and a central figure in the Christian Anarchists in the 60's and 70's remembers:

"The 'Death of God' theology was the atmosphere it (*Roadrunner*) breathed, but it was all very confused - but then everything was in those days."[83]

John MacQuarrie argues that the Death of God theology was motivated by rebellion in the name of humanity against a world-view which subjected man to an omnipotent God:

"The proponents of this explicitly atheistic, yet, as they believed, Christian theology believed that their radical teaching was a gospel of liberation. It was a gospel for man come of age, the man of the Enlightenment who relied on his own understanding and rejected the heteronomous rule of a monarchical deity." [84]

Two young Americans, Thomas Altizer and William Hamilton, were at the forefront of this movement, which could also be said to have included Paul van Buren,[85] though they moved considerably beyond Robinson to declare unequivocally the death of theism:

"We are not talking about the absence of the experience of God, but about the experience of the absence of God." [86]

Hamilton elaborated further:

"The death of God theologians...are men without God who do not anticipate his return. But it is not a simple not-having, for there is an experience of loss. Painful for some, not so for others, it is loss none the less. The loss is not of the idols, or of the God of theism, but of the God of the Christian tradition. And this group persists, in the face of both bewilderment and fury, in calling itself Christian. It persists in making use of the phrase 'death of God' in spite of its rhetorical colour, partly because it is a phrase that cannot be adapted to traditional use by theologians today." [87]

Declaring firmly that "The sacred will be born only when Western man combines a willing acceptance of the profane with a desire to change it" [88], the *Death of God* writers made apparent a parallel with another area of theology which was enormously important to later currents of Christian radicalism - namely Liberation Theology. Originally expounded by Gustav Gutierrez in his book *A Theology of Liberation* [89], it was in Latin America, Asia and Africa that it has had the most impact. It was not, however, until the radical Christianity under discussion here had passed its peak in the mid 1970s, that Liberation Theology gained any widescale attention in Britain, and there is scant evidence to suggest that it had any influence on the wholly different context for the Christian radicals in the UK at that time, this is why it has been excluded from this discussion.

Summarising Altizer and Hamilton's thought briefly is difficult since both writers combine so many disparate elements into their work, and often lack consistency. Even a sympathetic critic of theirs – Thomas Ogletree – wrote of Altizer (though he could equally be referring to Hamilton):

"Altizer is not a thinker who is sober, balanced and moderate in his views...he writes with passion...his writings are full of exaggeration and overstatement lest anyone miss the point that has to be made." [90]

It is, however, possible to discern two distinct ways in which the 'Death of God' is interpreted as an actual event, and not just as a linguistic device. The first is *Kenosis* or 'self-emptying', and is taken to be symbolized by the incarnation of Jesus, whereby God gives up his infinite transcendent being to become fully involved in the

realm of the finite immanent world. The second is the process of movement of the sacred into the profane, and the profane into the sacred, which was termed *coincidentia oppositorum*, a phrase derived from fifteenth-century mystic, Nicholas of Cusa. [91]

Arguing that their efforts were "an attempt to set an atheist point of view within the spectrum of Christian possibility", [92] in *Radical Theology and the Death of God* the pair outlined several possible definitions of the phrase the 'Death of God'. Of these the first two were most central:

"1) That there is no God and that there never has been. This position is traditional atheism of the old-fashioned kind, and it does seem hard to see how it could be combined, except very unstably, with Christianity or any of the Western religions.

2) That there was once a God to whom adoration, praise and trust were appropriate, possible, and even necessary, but that now there is now such God. This is the position of the Death of God or radical theology. It is an atheist position, but with a difference. If there was a God, and if there now isn't, it should be possible to indicate why this change took place, when it took place, and who was responsible for it." [93]

The other definitions focus on linguistic interpretations of the phrase, including the possibility the "our language about God is always inadequate and imperfect", a position that the most conservative of theologians would be happy to accept. But that was explicitly not Altizer and Hamilton's view. They were atheists, albeit distinctively Christian atheists (or perhaps christian Atheists?), and it was on this basis that they developed and expounded their theological views.

Drawing extensively on the work of Bonhoffer, Barth, Bultmann and Tillich, amongst others, they express both a disillusionment with the institution of the church, and the urgent need for Christians to become directly involved in social/political activity that characterised so much of the activity of CHURCH and the writing in *Roadrunner*.

"What is the relation of radical theology to the Church? It certainly must be clear that this theology has neither the power nor the ability to serve the Protestant Church in most of its present institutional forms. I do not see how preaching, worship, prayer, ordination, the sacraments can be taken seriously by the radical theologian. If there

is a need for new institutional forms and styles, however, this theology doubtless has a great deal to say."[94]

The relationship between theology and the church occupied them greatly. Altizer wrote:

"The theologian must exist outside of the Church: he can neither proclaim the Word, celebrate the sacraments, nor rejoice in the presence of the Holy Spirit. Before contemporary theology can become itself, it must first exist in silence." [95]

Here Altizer was calling for a period of 'pure' thought, uninterrupted by the pragmatics of daily life, whether secular or sacred. He felt that only by deep thinking through of the issues thrown up by the new theology could it be applied, and applicable. It was not that he was refusing to recognize the need for 'action', but that the right basis needed to be established for any subsequent 'action' to be meaningful and relevant. An indication of the shape of this 'thinking' came in a subsequent passage:

"If the Word is to become flesh in our world, it must fully and finally become 'flesh', become profane, and therefore it must negate all those forms of the Incarnation which effected a non-dialectical compromise between 'flesh' and 'Spirit'. A Word that truly becomes 'flesh' will no longer be 'Spirit', just as 'flesh' that is transfigured by 'Spirit' will no longer be 'flesh'...Therefore the only adequate language for the Incarnation is the language of the paradox, of the deepest paradox, which may well mean that it is only the language of the radical profane that can give witness to the fullest advent of the Incarnation." [96]

This is a clarion call for the fullest possible immersion in the 'profane' as a way of seeking the 'sacred'. Altizer rejects the 'non-dialectical' compromise' that traditional theology posits, and sees it as a luke-warm response to both the sacred and the profane. Instead he offers a theology that is 'truly dialectical', one that seeks a 'radical immanence' as a path to a 'radical transcendence'. It is only in the most total darkness that the light can shine at its' brightest. So this is a theology that embraces the world, and seeks to engage with it 'where it is now'. It lacks the assuredness of older theological models, since it cannot offer faith in its historical form – a form that is drawn from the past, yet is also curiously timeless – historical and a-historical.

The eschatological vision of traditional theology is a time capsule, immune to the present, drawing on both the 'then' and the 'when' simultaneously, but ignoring the 'now'. Interestingly 'when' is a bivious word – it can refer to the past, as in "I was there when that happened", or refer forwards to the future "I will be there when you come round". Nonetheless, this argument offers a fairly clear theological justification for radical Christian action in terms of engagement with the profane and the secular world. What is less clear, however, is when and how this event – the death of God - took place.

Hamilton appears to contradict himself on this issue. After stating that "There is no God-shaped blank within man", he then argues that:

"There is an element of *expectation*, even hope, that removes my position from classical atheism and that even removes it from a large amount of anguish and gloom." (my emphasis) [97]

Thus God was once alive, but is now dead, and we can only wait for his return from beyond the grave. There is a corpse – in the form of the church – but no coroners verdict giving the time of death. Hamilton does say that the Death of God "is a public event in our history", [98] but is not clear whether he is referring to a contemporary 'our', making the event quite recent, or a more general 'our', meaning human history, across time. Elsewhere Altizer claims that:

"We assume the truth of Nietzsche's proclamation of the death of God, a truth which has thus far been ignored or set aside by contemporary theology. This means that we shall understand the death of God as an historical event: God has died in *our* time, in *our* history, in *our* existence." (original emphases) [99]

Unfortunately this statement does little to clarify the matter, since the precise meaning of 'our' is left open to interpretation, and there is no obvious indication of who 'we' are, and when this loss was experienced. Logically, though, the death must have been quite recent since both authors express a sense of loss, and one can't experience loss of something that one never had.

What does become clear is that the phrase is not to be bandied about loosely by just anyone, but can only be used by those who are committed to full immersion in contemporary secular society:

"'God is dead' are words that may only truly be spoken by the Christian, not by the religious Christian who is bound to an eternal and unmoving Word, but by the radical Christian who speaks in response to an Incarnate Word that empties itself of Spirit so as to appear and exist as flesh." [100]

Towards the end of the book, Hamilton offers an overview of current cultural trends in a chapter titled *The New Optimism*, and despite the vagueness of his other claims, here he seems to be on safer ground, and much more accurate in his predictions:

"We seem to be out of the fifties when the young were tame, safe and cool...The sixties may well be the time for play, celebration, delight, and for hope." [101]

This is a highly perceptive insight, and precisely captures the central themes that were to characterize so much of the activity that went under the broad heading of the 'counter-culture', and which were to have so much formative influence on the British radical Christians.

As might be expected, Altizer and Hamilton's views stirred up considerable controversy, and led to a storm of criticism. A brief flavour of the response can be gathered from the following comments.

Daniel Callahan, writing in a book devoted to the new theology – *The Death of God Debate* – was openly dismissive, though in a somewhat quizzical vein:

"The word 'trick' sounds just right here. What else can be said of a 'theology' (for they continue to use the word) which 1): appears to take literally the linguistically nonsensical phrase "God is dead", 2) shares with the atheist an unwillingness to take seriously anything outside of man and nature, and then 3) has the effrontery to assert that it may be possible to give this outlook a Biblical basis?" [102]

Schubert Ogden, an even more vociferous opponent of the Death of God theologians argued that:

"However absurd talking about God might be, it could never be so obviously absurd

as talking of Christian faith without God. If theology is possible today only on secularistic terms, the more candid way to say this is to admit that theology is not possible at all." [103]

As will be shown later, this was, in actuality, the view taken by some of those involved with CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/*Wick*, who focused more on 'community' in a practical sense, rather than concern themselves with any attempts to 'theologise' their faith. That is to say, their theology was instinctive and deeply practical, rather than based on a close reading of theological arguments.

Along similar lines Hans Küng argued:

"A God who dies has never existed; it is possible to speak of the 'death of God' in theological terms at best noetically: an expression in fact of God's absence, of his dying in human experience." [104]

Peter L. Berger was also deeply critical of what he termed the 'neo-liberal' theologians, by which he explicitly meant Altizer and Hamilton, amongst others. Writing in 1967 he argued that:

"It does not seem very likely that the extreme forms of 'radical' theology as now popularized in Protestantism will carry the field, for the simple reason that they would undermine the very existence of the religious institutions they are intended to legitimate. As legitimations they are self-defeating." [105]

In the longer term it appears that Berger was right, since the 'Death of God' movement has largely vanished. The difficulty with this criticism, though, is that it appears to misunderstand the radical theologians project. They were not interested in 'legitimising' any of the institutions of organized religion, and were quite explicit in their statements about this. So the criticism is not entirely appropriate since it assumes they were in favour of something that they were actually opposed to. The radicals were not even concerned to any great extent with reforming the church, but preferred to work outside, and even against it. The task for the radicals was to define new constituencies, new congregations, that lay beyond existing church structures, and this was an inevitable result of their theology. They marginalized themselves as a deliberate strategy to re-cast the boundaries of legitimate

theological intervention. This movement from cloister to the world was an intrinsic part of their thinking, and connected directly to their conceptualization of 'community'. These were concerns which also occupied Harvey Cox, who is discussed in the flowing section.

HARVEY COX – 'THE SECULAR CITY'

"The forces of secularization have no serious interest in persecuting religion. Secularization simply bypasses and undercuts religion and goes on to other things. It has relativized religious world-views and thus rendered them innocuous. Religion has been privatized...the gods of traditional religions live on as private fetishes or the patrons of congenial groups, but they play no role whatever in the public life of the secular metropolis." [106]

From its opening pages *The Secular City* offered some startling analysis of contemporary Christianity. First published in 1965, American theologian Harvey Cox's book rapidly attracted considerable attention for its forthright, and radical assessment of how Christianity needed to respond to the demands of the new social, political and cultural climate.

In terms of its relevance for the concept of *structures of feeling*, one fascinating theme emerged early on. Cox argued that the secular technological city has its own 'shape' and 'style': "...its peculiar way of understanding and expressing itself, its distinctive character, coloring all aspects of its life", and that "in our own time we all share a fund of unspoken perspectives." [107] In support of this view he drew on the work of Merleau-Ponty:

"If indeed philosophy and the film agree, if reflection and techniques of work participate in a common meaning, it is because the philosopher and the film-maker have in common a certain manner of being (*mannière d'être),* a certain view of the world which is that of a generation." (original emphasis) [108]

Whilst expressed differently it is clear that Cox was arguing for the existence of a

structure of feeling, which is a common cultural feature, and that could be discerned across a range of discursive practices.

Cox went on to outline a wide-ranging argument based firmly on the thesis that secularisation is a given fact of modern 'technopolitan' society, and that the symbols and rituals appropriate to that society must also be rooted in the secular, and not rely on an out-dated mysticism and metaphysics, since secularization is the work of God for Man. He claimed that there are three biblical sources for secularization – The *disenchantment of nature* which began with the Creation; the *desacralization of politics* which began with the Exodus; and the *deconsecration of values* which began with the Sinai Covenant, especially its prohibition of idols. It therefore follows that secularization represents an authentic consequence of biblical faith, and that "rather than oppose it, the task of the Christian should be to support and nourish it." [109]

The risks posed by this are considerable, especially for conventional Christianity, since achieving 'value consensus' around a set of pre-agreed norms, becomes increasingly difficult. Secular citizens can no longer be expected to turn to the pulpit for moral authority. But whilst achieving 'value consensus' may be more difficult, it is not impossible:

"Despite claims to the contrary, the relativization of values does <u>not</u> make impossible human society with its prerequisite of some degree of social consensus. What it <u>does</u> do is force man to reconstitute that consensus on a wholly new basis." [110]

The 'new basis' depends on two factors: firstly the need for 'real maturity' – "everyone must be made a citizen of the land of broken symbols", [111] - which requires a recognition that if all values are relative, then we are all in the same situation; and secondly the need to abandon any belief that existing ethical standards are "God-given":

"There is no reason that man must believe the ethical standards he lives by came down from heaven inscribed on golden tablets...they are conditioned by their

history and claim no finality." [112]

This means that there will inevitably be a plurality of value systems, but that it is not the task of the Christian to simply insist on the purity and rightness of their own vision, and they need to repudiate the "privilege of winning the others over by rack and thumbscrew." [113] This, then, was a direct parallel to Robinson's appeal to 'situation ethics', since there is no longer any supreme authority that can legitimately invoked to support specific moral conventions. This was made even clearer later in the book, when Cox argued that rigid moral codes can be harmful and a distortion of the Gospel:

"In the freedom of the Gospel, we arrive at decisions by utilizing norms that themselves must always be open to criticism and transformation and are therefore never final. Traditional Christian sexual norms are no exception. They do not stand above history...Premarital sexual conduct should serve to strengthen the chances of sexual success and fidelity in marriage and we must face the real question of whether avoidance of intercourse beforehand is always the best preparation." [114]

Cox also discussed the 'Death of God', but it is clear that he had a very different perspective from that propounded by Hamilton and Altizer. He pointed out that the word 'God' has had a series of different historical usages, and that it is social change that is responsible for these changes in meaning. He also argued that even after changes have taken place in the dominant meanings, the other uses may still be available. So, for example, in the early centuries of the Christian era the word was used to translate a number of terms – "the *theos* of Greek philosophy, the *Deus* of Western metaphysics, and the *Yahweh* of the Hebrew Bible." [115] In essence the word 'God' is the result of a process of 'naming', and as such is historically and culturally variable.

"When we use the word *God* in the biblical sense, we are not speaking about but 'naming', and that is an entirely different matter. To name is to point, to confess, to locate something in terms of our history." [116]

This has strong echoes of the work of the structuralists, especially Roland Barthes, who argued that there is no necessary connection between the object

and its 'referent', and that language is a cultural system of symbols, not a 'natural' reflection of the world. [117] So what we have here is a division between those who see the 'Death of God' as a linguistic/metaphysical/theological 'problem', and those who proclaim it as a 'fact'. Robinson and Cox are amongst the former, whilst Hamilton and Altizer are amongst the latter. This tension was also evident in *Roadrunner*, between those wishing to retain 'theism', however weakly expressed, and those moving beyond it to a 'post-theistic' position. But it is also clear that Cox sees the issue of 'naming' as more than a simple linguistic device, since it is also always a 'political act', and this argument gives a theological justification for much of the direct action that CHURCH was involved with:

"Speaking of God in a secular fashion is a political issue. It entails our discerning where God is working and then joining his work. Standing in a picket line is a way of speaking. By doing it a Christian speaks of God. He helps alter the word 'God' by changing the society in which it has been trivialized, by moving away from the context where 'God-talk' usually occurs, and by shedding the stereotyped roles in which God's name is usually intoned." [118]

The Secular City also confronts the need for new kind of theology, appropriate to the social context: "We are trying to live in a period of revolution without a theology of revolution." [119] Cox argues that there are four essential features of a revolutionary theology. It should be: *Catalytic* – that is a notion of why action is necessary; it should offer an interpretation of *Catalepsy* – that is peoples 'paralysis' or refusal to accept the need for change; it should have an idea of *Catharsis* – that is the purgative process by which the hindrances to change are eliminated; and it should offer an understanding of *Catastrophe* – that is the nature of the social change, since it is this understanding which makes possible change in those unable to move and thereby facilitates purposeful action. [120]

In the light of this, Cox's comments about the church are of particular interest. In order to build a revolutionary theology, it is essential to recognize that the church "is not in the first instance an institution. It is a people." [121] and that "Jesus Christ comes to his people not primarily through ecclesiastical traditions, but through

social change." [122] This means that Christians need to massively re-think the relationship of the church to people, and to the revolutionary theology that it is aiming to offer. It is not enough any more to expect people to respond to sermonizing, what is needed is a practical engagement with the lived realities of life in a 'technopolitan' society, that has finally, and irretrievable, abandoned its allegiances to a God 'out there', as a remote heavenly figure. At the same time, there also needs to be a direct challenge to all forms of 'mysticism', which displace attention from the immediate social context. This leads him to suggest that a contemporary form of exorcism is needed:

"The ministry of the church in the secular city does include a contemporary extension of exorcism. Men must be called away from their fascination with other worlds – astrological, metaphysical, or religious – and summoned to confront the concrete issues of this one." [123]

For Cox, the church might continue to operate in a limited way on a parish basis, but it also needed to extend into workplaces, and elsewhere. In a similar vein many (though by no means all) of those involved in CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/Wick felt that the church was a constrictive institution, which needed to be challenged and replaced. As David Perman put it in his discussion of radical theology:

"It turns the whole ecclesiastical view of life upside down. It says that if a dividing line has to be drawn between the religious and the religionless, between the churches and the world, between the righteous believers and the sinful pagans, then the radicals would rather be on the pagan side of the line – for that is where they would expect to encounter Christ." [124]

As with all the themes, ideas and movements discussed in this chapter, it is not my contention that all the radical Christians had read all of these books, or that they were even directly aware of all the ideas in them...but that the existence of these examples is evidence that the themes and issues they were grappling with were more than just their own idiosyncratic views, and were actually evidence of a *structure of feeling*, an attempt to express a shared response to a specific social context.

SUMMARY

This upsurge in 'radical' theology - especially in the wake of the *Honest to God* furore – meant that Robinson, Cox *et al.* featured in glossy colour supplements, and became media celebrities, albeit temporarily. Although it might be easy to lump all these theologians together as an homogenous group - they were far from being a school as such, and it is necessary to delineate clearly the very sharp distinctions that existed between their various theologies. Of them all Robinson, especially in a British context, was the one whose views have come to seem largely unremarkable, and it is likely that they even appear perfectly reasonable to some of today's churchgoers. Altizer and Hamiltons' views, however, have had less widespread appeal, although it is possible to draw a line from their work to the thought of contemporary theologians such as Don Cupitt and the 'Sea of Faith' group.

A fuller assessment of the impact of this theology on the thinking and activities of the radical Christians will be offered in subsequent chapters, but for now, three key points deserve to be made. Firstly, that this radical theology was available for CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/Wick to draw on; secondly that whilst it had little overt impact (though there were certainly some for whom it was tremendously important) it offered an implicit theological justification of many of their actions; and thirdly that their lack of a coherent theology (combined with a lack of a clear political direction) meant that the activities of CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/Wick fell between two stools - held at arms length by the political radicals who were suspicious of anything calling itself 'Christian', they were similarly shunned by many Christians, who saw them as anarcho-frivolists, with no obvious commitment to Christianity in whatever shape or form. As Fr. Paulinus Milner, a Dominican working with 'drop-outs' in Oxford at the time argued:

"Most of the people of the Underground experienced Christianity as a negative system breeding guilt and fear, denying spontaneity in the name of facile otherworldliness. The more modern style Christianity with its emphasis on human

relationships, political involvement and social work, its greater permissiveness and its respect for human values, does not impress them any better because of its timidity with respect to spiritual values and the supernatural." [125]

3. RADICAL CHRISTIANITY

This section examines a few selected groups and movements that in some way or other resonate with the activities and ideals of CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/Wick. The first manifestations of radical Christianity under discussion in this thesis occurred during 1967, but radical Christianity as a broader historical movement, has a very rich tradition stretching back over several centuries, and involving a wide range of complex inter-related debates and activities. [126] A thorough historical survey is beyond the scope of this work, and instead here the focus is on selected 'moments' which have a relevance for the activities and thinking of the groups and individuals in the 60's/70's.

There are three main areas which are of central relevance. These are: attempts to utilize music, art, theatre and dancing as part of a sacramental vision of God and his relationship to the world; an examination of some 'experiments in community' that constitute a pre-echo of the situation that later existed at *Wick Court*; and finally a brief discussion of the radical Catholic Marxist journal *Slant*, which was published during the 1960s, and articulated many concerns similar to those expressed in the pages of *Roadrunner*. The aim is to highlight some pertinent historical and contextual examples, and thereby to add credence to the proposition that the attempts to express a radical Christian *structure of feeling* in the 1960s and 70s were not carried out in isolation, but drew on other activities and attempts, both historical and contemporary, thus combining both 'residual' and 'pre-emergent' elements.

THE CATHOLIC CRUSADE

There are a number of very interesting groups - including *The Guild of St. Matthew*, *The Church Socialist League*, *The Christian Social Union*, *The Society of Socialist Christians*, and the *Catholic Crusade*, all of whom, though in different ways, expressed an interest in flamboyance and merry-making. Many of these groups emerged around the end of the nineteenth-century and the beginning of the twentieth-century, and had clear links with contemporary struggles around, for example, working class emancipation. They also sought to make the Gospel more accessible and relevant to 'ordinary people', and to use celebration as a central part of their worship. [127] Of these it is the *Catholic Crusade* that can be shown to have the most relevance for CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/Wick.

Founded on April 10th, 1918, by Conrad Noel, the 'red vicar' of Thaxted in Essex, the *Catholic Crusade* proclaimed the liturgy of the church as 'soaked in Socialism', and saw it as the duty of every Christian to actively agitate for political revolution. This revolution was expressed in explicitly Leninnist terms, and Noel drew tremendous inspiration from the Russian Revolution in 1917. Invoking the biblical episode of Christ driving the money-changers from the temple (later to become a popular theme in *Roadrunner*), the Crusade believed that "persuasion is the first weapon and violence the last in the Christian armoury", [128] and outlined their views in ways that would have sounded very familiar over fifty years later:

> "If you are fighting not merely for elbow room and comforts within the present structure, but to destroy the present structure, because it denies and refuses the principles of human life...if in the love of God you hate the present world which denies freedom, stifles initiative, poisons commonwealth, and will destroy it, or be destroyed in the attempt...If while you believe in dancing, colour, merry-making, you are not deluded into thinking that these things can be restored while Justice, Comradeship, and Liberty are refused, HELP THE CATHOLIC CRUSADE." [129]

Noel also expressed a distinctively sacramental view of the world, as a living testament to the glory of God, whom he believed, was:

"...the maker of the sense of wonder, justice, love and worship; of the sense of

colour which delights in the flowers, pictures, sunrises and gay fabrics; of the sense of justice which drives men to rebellion against tyrants who rob men's souls of vigour, their minds of leisure, and their bodies of nourishment; of the sense of smell which rejoices in roses and frankincense; of the sense of hearing which responds to poetry and music." [130]

This deep concern with flowers, sunrises, poetry, and the smell of roses, coupled with a strong sense of social justice and the importance of 'rebellion', together with the themes of 'dancing' and 'merry-making', were all issues that reverberated with *Roadrunner*, which proclaimed on one of its earliest covers – "We shall celebrate with such fierce dancing the Death of your Institutions." [131]

The *Catholic Crusade*, in line with its' Lenninist principles, and in sharp contrast with CHURCH/*Roadrunner* for whom 'membership' was a highly fluid category, saw attendance at a 'Crusade church' overseen by a 'Crusade vicar' as an essential for their revolutionary plan. They enforced a period of probation on all would-be recruits, and only after scrutiny and debate at the Crusade's 'Annual Chapter' could full membership be granted. There were, obviously, no direct links between these two radical 'moments', but it is clear that there are intriguing parallels in both the style and content of their activities. John R Orens observes that Noel was more politically radical than most of his contemporaries, and that his 'revolutionary zeal' was often off-putting to potential new recruits:

"The dramatic nature of his call for Catholic radicalism probably confused more Catholics and radicals than it attracted...Perhaps even more important, the Crusade was so dominated by Noel that differences of opinion could not be tolerated, nor was it possible for other leaders to emerge." [132]

Factional squabbles during the late 1930s led to the break up of the *Catholic Crusade*, and although Noel then founded *The Order of the Church Militant*, this too ceased to exist shortly after his death in 1942. Nonetheless, these efforts represent a fascinating historical example of an attempt to connect a thoroughgoing engagement in secular radical politics, with a flamboyant and vibrant style. In this

sense these efforts can be viewed as an example of a 'residual' *structure of feeling* which have significance "because they represent areas of experience, aspiration and achievement which the dominant culture neglects, undervalues, opposes, represses, or even cannot recognise." [133]

'COMMUNITY'

The second area of interest concerns experiments in community, and the ways in which some Christian groups have embraced forms of alternative living arrangements. There were numerous such experiments during earlier centuries, many of them claiming to be modelled on the 'early fathers' - that is, the biblical model of the first Christian communities or churches. Nicholas Ferrar, in the seventeenth century, first established one of the best known of these in *Little Gidding*. [134] Run along strictly patriarchal lines, it was more like an extended family than a commune. It consisted of a core group of adults, and children – many of whom were nephews and nieces of Ferrar himself - and the established facilities included a school room, a dispensary for herbal remedies, and a sick room for longer term treatment. [135] The community was re-established in the 1970s by Robert Van de Weyer, and took on several features of the original, including its function as a bridge between a monastic ideal of seclusion and withdrawal, and a full engagement with the secular world. New members were also required to commit themselves for a year, with the intention of renewing that commitment for several years at least.

The founding community at *Little Gidding* demanded tremendous loyalty from those involved – not only to Ferrar himself, but also to a rigidly puritanical theology, and in these respects more closely resembled the structures of the various Jesus Movement groups, such as the *Jesus Liberation Front* and the infamous *Children of God* [136], than the radical collectives established by members of the *Roadrunner* editorial group in Brixton, and later at *Wick Court*. Nonetheless it does provide an

interesting historical example of a reading of Christianity that expressed a commitment to community as the necessary basis of personal faith.

There have, of course, been a great number of more overtly political Christian communes, that is to say, defining themselves as much by reference to political as to religious creeds. *The Brotherhood Church* in Pontefract, West Yorkshire, is one such example - a community of families, originally founded in 1891, and still existing over a hundred years later – it was firmly committed to Anarchism politically and refused to acknowledge, much less respect, the authority of the State, whilst at the same time attempting to abide by Christian principles in their dealings with each other and the outside world. [137] The practical results of this refusal led to a series of bitter wrangles with a variety of State agencies, including the Registrar for Births, Deaths and Marriages, and the local tax office. Originally explicitly Socialist in their views – "We believe in Socialist principles, but insist on them being carried out by Christian methods",[138] following a visit to Russia in 1903, during which time members of the group met and stayed with Tolstoy, they became firmly committed to Anarchism, and rejected Socialism as just another form of 'coercion'. They declined to recognize the authority of the State to exercise any control whatsoever over their lives, and, for example, refused to get legally married – "We believe in fidelity, but we do not recognize that compulsion is any guarantee of fidelity, that is why we cannot make legal marriages." [139] They also refused to register the births of their children, which led to one woman in 1911 being sent to prison, with her baby, for a month. Other members were also jailed for not completing census forms, and for failing to pay any form of taxes. One of their most protracted conflicts with authority occurred in 1912. It centred on a case that attracted extensive press attention at the time, when Arthur Taylor was prosecuted for not sending his daughter to school. The philosophy of *The Brotherhood Church* can be discerned from what was described by the magistrate as an 'extraordinary' letter, in which Taylor set out his reasons for not complying with the Leeds Education Committee:

"I will not let a set of ruffians like you control the education of my child. This law is

vilely and grossly immoral...you do not deserve that I should confide to you my own plans for the education of my own children. You have no moral standing at all, for you do not recognize the Master whom I serve. I have to choose between violating my conscience or suffering persecution for Christ's sake, and if you are determined to persecute I am also determined to endure. By the help of God I shall educate my child in my own way, and will never allow anyone who does not acknowledge and obey the authority of Jesus Christ to have any say in the matter at all. " [140]

Taylor was fined 20/- (£1) for this offence, though he continued to refuse to send his children to school, or to inform the Education Committee of what arrangements he was making for their education. A further insight into the views of *The Brotherhood Church* can be seen in a letter written by Tom Ferris to the *Yorkshire Observer* on January 28th 1913:

"There is in existence a body of teaching which is known as 'religion', which is particularly concerned with questions of righteousness and justice, and which derives its authority from laws of being – laws from which the human soul derives its very structure and perceptions...The sincerely religious man, therefore, occupies a platform high above all the statutes and courts. It is his business to teach them righteousness; it can never be competent for them to teach him. Any religious man who doubts or denies that fundamental truth has in fact denied his Master, and given up his birthright of freedom for the fleshpots of bondage." [141]

This type of radical Christian community is clearly unusual, but it does provide a stark example of a genuine attempt to synthesize radical political commitments with deeply-held faith. This is one of the tensions that was to greatly occupy the later radical Christians, especially whilst they were resident at *Wick Court*. It is, however, in the 60's, and in America, that this commune movement really took shape, a move which was reflected in Britain with the emergence of several specifically radical Christian communes such as *The Kingsway Community*, *The Blackheath Commune*, and the *Railton Road Commune*. It was from this latter one, based in Brixton, and home to several CHURCH members, that *Roadrunner* came to be produced for a while. Tracing the development of these small groups is extremely difficult, especially given the shifting personnel involved and the fact that it was primarily a home, and thus written records are rarely available. The activities of the *Railton Road* community did, however, feature in *Roadrunner*, and there is thus some written

account of the various schemes with which they were involved, including a fascinating project to convert a disused Methodist church in Brixton. [142]

One further example of this type of group is the *Iona* community, founded in 1938, and notable for its charismatic preacher The Very Revd. George MacLeod. *Iona* was enormously influential on at least two of the *Roadrunner* editors, Viv Broughton and Jan Hammond, both of whom visited it before they were married to each other. They found it not only to be enormously peaceful, in stark contrast to their hectic lives in Brixton, but also spiritually uplifting and fulfilling. Viv Broughton recalled:

"I'd been to Iona quite a few times, and met George McLeod, and he was a big, big influence on me. Jan and I went to Iona a number of times. I suppose it was him, if anybody, who really started me off on all that - getting into the Fellowship of Reconcilliation, and that kind of thing. That was really right at the beginning. I also thought that Iona was just an amazing place, for people of student years, you know, young people, to go there, and open their minds up to an incredible number of new ideas. It was a great kind of radicalising place. This was the thinking behind selling the headquarters at Annandale, using the money to go and buy a place that would become the headquarters of the SCM and wasn't in London, but was in a place where people instead of coming to the head office for meetings, which were like board meetings, they'd come and have conferences and stay with the staff, and join in the community, which was very much like Iona. That was the idea." [143]

Jan Broughton also had fond memories:

"Yes. I loved it. I really did love it in fact. I loved the whole thing, and shortly after I met Viv, before we started going out, we decided to go up to Iona, and for me that was quite an experience. We met George McLeod..he was just such a nice guy. I just loved Iona, I loved the peace." [144]

These experiments in community were very important to the distinctive formation of radical Christianity - many articles and a number of editions of *Roadrunner* were devoted to the theme - thus it is clear that communal living was a recurring motif within this manifestation of radical Christianity, and it is especially interesting for the ways in which the struggles about the shape of the church, and its' relationship with the radicals, were articulated with it. A common theme for debate was the extent to which the community could serve not only as a living space, but also as a church, or

at least a spiritual home for those involved. This is an issue which will be explored more fully in subsequent chapters.

'SLANT'

The third area of interest under this heading concerns the Catholic Marxist journal *Slant*, which was published between 1964 and 1970. In Regan's view:

"The *Slant* story is more than a footnote in the history of the Catholic left. What it points to unmistakably is a convergence of cultural and political allegiances." [145]

Slant was founded by a group of students at Cambridge University who had been heavily influenced in their work by Raymond Williams. In fact Williams was a key contributor to a *Slant* 'symposium' held at the 'Roundhouse', Camden Town, in 1967, where he opened and closed the proceedings with his contributions, which were later published as the opening and concluding chapters in *From Culture to Revolution*. [146] Terry Eagleton, one of the central figures on the *Slant* editorial board, recalled during interview that:

"People like Williams had to be careful not to be tarred with a theological brush, and that little introductory note that he wrote for *Slant* is a masterpiece of ambiguous welcome. We thought it was rather grudging, he later told me that he thought it was quite rash [laughter]." [147]

Throughout the six years that *Slant* existed its' concerns were almost entirely theoretical – drawing on philosophical, literary, theological and sociological debates - and it displayed nothing like the visual exuberance of the underground press. The few advertisements it carried were for conferences or meetings, not demonstrations or concerts, and the journal was laid out in a very austere, academic way - psychedelic graphics and even photography are noticeably absent from its' pages. In sharp contrast with *Roadrunner*, which suffered from crises in funding throughout its existence, *Slant* had secure financial backing from the Catholic publishers *Sheed & Ward*. From 1965 onwards (one year after the journal had launched) it was published from Sheed & Ward's offices in Covent Garden, London, and carried full-

page adverts for Sheed & Ward publications on the outside back cover of every issue.

The flavour of its theoretical influences can be gathered from an article written by Eagleton, in the seventh issue of *Slant* (which was the first to be distributed on a national basis), in February/March 1966. Titled '*Slant on Christianity and politics*' it offered a review of *Slant's* activities to date, and an indication of its' future directions.

"The ideas of Marx and Sartre, the related insights of existential psychologists like R.D. Laing, the work of Heidegger and Wittgenstein in language and community, of Raymond Williams in communications and culture, unite to form one particular area where the theological contribution can be integral." [148]

This same editorial also provided a clear outline of the key issues:

"*Slant* has tried to serve a double function, within this crystallising context of theological radicalism and political conservatism. The first function has been to mediate the ideas and values of the political left into the church; the second has been to explore, in terms of both theoretical and actual politics, the relationships between a theological and a political radicalism." [149]

The struggle to satisfactorily combine these functions emerged throughout the pages of *Slant*. From its' origins as simply a journal, there was a move in 1967, to establish '*Slant* groups', as a means of developing a more active radical presence. Some members of the editorial board enthusiastically welcomed this:

"Now there is the possibility of turning *Slant* into a movement which can do something to bring about the ideals advocated in its pages, and faces us with the difficult task of translating our ideas into objectives on which a revolution can be based." [150]

Terry Eagleton, during interview, summarised his thoughts about the successes and failures of *Slant*:

"My own feeling about *Slant* now is that we produced some marvellous ideas - when I read *Slant*, which I do very rarely, but when I do I'm impressed by its level. You know...it was an impressive journal. But it was working in a kind of vacuum, and that was one of the several factors that caved it in, in the end. I think one thing it meant quite immediately to be a Christian radical was to try to radicalise the liberals. I think we were quite realistic about not thinking that we could, as it were, speak

over their heads directly to the plain people and the pious faithful. Most of *Slant's* activity, and I guess some of this stuff [referring to *Roadrunner*] was really seizing what was then a newly emergent, quite militant liberal middle-class christian movement, and trying to, as it were, take their own logic and take them with it, to a radical position. So we were meeting a lot of theological willingness - an openness for that - but a sort of ideological middle-class reluctance to go along with it.
We suddenly hit a moment of possibility, where exciting things were going on. So I've always been intrigued by the sociology of *Slant* - it was in one sense a rampant configuration of people coming together, at the same time it made a kind of, you know, 60's historical sense, that now this generation were finding a voice. As I say they could do so partly because there was an opening in the church anyway. I think that we then developed a lot, in the sense, for example, that we wouldn't, I don't think, have called ourselves 'Marxists' when we began, but most of us would by the time we ended. We went through all that 60's stuff. But I think we ended up, partly because of that, partly for other reasons, in a real crisis of identity (laughs). We no longer knew collectively what we believed. I think I edited the journal singe handedly, *faute de mieux*, for the last few issues, and then suddenly, rather dismayingly, realised I had very little consensus. (laughs) Most of the comrades actively disagreed with what I was saying, or weren't very interested. People were moving off geographically, and all that, so that there was a sense that...I think that at our peak *Slant* had a kind of interesting consensus, but as the church pulled in its horns, we had less and less to connect to. On the other hand, although we only had a tiny circulation, it didn't really matter in the sense that it was just the very fact that somebody was pitching that particular banner was actually quite appealing to a lot of people who would probably never dream of reading it, or couldn't understand it very well if they did. We had a lot of contacts with people who were just very glad that it was around.
But in the end I think it was because of the structural strain of trying to sustain a position that was so far in advance of what was going on - I think that was one of the reasons why we came apart. It was also a sort of natural demise - we'd shot our bolt, you know, I mean, journals don't last forever, and we'd done our job, and so on. But it was also partly the problem of, as with all of these phenomena, as we used to put it at the time, "You don't launch a movement from a journal...", it's the other way round. (laughs) I think it was very impressive that we did try to make some forays into more active activities - *Slant* groups, and conferences, and a Vietnam petition, and one thing and another. You know, we weren't on the whole content with just being an intellectual group, but we didn't really have the constituency, and we didn't have the historical context. A lot of what we were saying then, began later to make sense in Central and Latin America, but it wasn't making much sense in the suburbs of Birmingham." [151]

What is especially revealing about this overview, is that it emphasizes an issue that was to have clear relevance for *Roadrunner*, that is, the need to have a 'movement'

and not just a journal. This was one of the debates that emerged often in the pages of *Roadrunner*, and actively contributed to the decision by members of the original editorial board in 1972, to hand control of the magazine over to a *Slant* group, and to become actively involved with the *Student Christian Movement*. It is as if after years of developing arguments in the magazine, the time had come for them to experience a more solidly institutional setting, with a clearly defined membership.

What is also crucial is that the context of the 1960s enabled *Slant* to develop its ideas and positions, as Eagleton also pointed out:

"But I do think...that if we had been in a different context it would have been different. It was a good old illustration of the dangers of idealism. It wasn't so much that I think what *Slant* stood for was wrong, it just wasn't meshing. The idea, the exhilarating idea - although as it turned out, gravely mistaken - that everything was up for grabs, (laughs) I think that is what one has to imaginatively grasp. What differentiates that whole period from now, is the rather brash triumphalism (laughs) that underpins so much of this. You know, we thought history was on our side. We were going with the grain. This was all attributable to the fact that we were all about 22 years of age, and had never had any really sobering experience yet. There was a kind of youthful brashness and buoyancy about it, which of course characterised the 60's as a whole. It was the youth who was carrying the more general structures then, or a youth structure of sensibility intersected with a more general one. *Slant* was certainly in there. Things were moving and we were the vanguard." [152]

Although it was mentioned earlier that *Roadrunner* was 'super-ecumenical', it is probably true to say that it attracted most support from protestant denominations, and had a very small Roman Catholic readership. [153] Nonetheless, *Slant* shared perspectives in common with *Roadrunner*, and indeed several *Slant* 'readers groups' (including the one in Manchester that took over publication of *Roadrunner* in 1972) became *Roadrunner* groups following the demise of *Slant* itself. Interestingly, despite their common concerns, relations between CHURCH/*Roadrunner* and *Slant* were not exactly cordial at the time, as Viv Broughton recalled:

"VB: We were very, very scathing about *Slant*. We always took the piss out of them. We always felt they were real armchair wankers. They just loved to sit round, and discuss and write articles, and sit on their arses.

E P-D: Did you ever have any contact with them at demos?

VB: One or two of them used to show up, but they were all a bit...they didn't like CHURCH either. They thought we were all a load of hippies who had no solid serious theoretical basis. So there wasn't a lot of love lost between us and people like *Slant*." [154]

Despite this hostility, and the fact the *Slant* undoubtedly had a very different approach to the issue of radical Christianity, (or 'Christian radicalism' as it preferred to describe it) and that they were addressed to very different audiences, it is evident, although expressed in starkly contrasting voices, that *Slant* and *Roadrunner* were talking about the same things, at least some of the time.

The overriding feature they share in common is a deeply-held commitment to examining the concept of 'community'. There is a tension in both magazines between two opposing viewpoints - one which seeks to link the church to society as a 'community', the other which wants to assimilate society into the church as a 'sacrament'. [155] Terry Eagleton expressed it thus:

"The word 'community' will be at the centre of all our political and theological discussion; it is, indeed, the term which above all links theology to politics, translating what we say about Christianity into discussion of a whole society." [156]

The issue of whether this 'community' could be adequately constructed around the institutional form of the church is, however, one that led to tensions. Eagleton initially argued that:

"The radical christian remains in the church because he believes that what is spoken and symbolized in its liturgy – the word and life of Christ – had enduring authenticity; his judgement on the failure of the church is then from <u>within</u> this perspective, if it is to be genuine." [157]

Brian Wicker, another prominent member of the editorial board, whilst deeply critical of the current state of the church, nonetheless also supported this view:

"We find the church – the religious community – in a condition so far removed from its true centre, as the heart of life, that it is now scarcely recognizable for what it really is. The task of theology, therefore, is first of all to examine this empirically given structure, not only in its actual manifestation, but also in its inner essence as the fundamental community of mankind." [158]

Other *Slant* contributors were less convinced about this issue, arguing that "Our business is to remake the world, not to build the church." [159] A lengthy exchange of views on this topic took place, which led to a substantial shift in Eagleton's position. Michael Dummet argued that the church had become nothing more than a 'religious association' – "We do not know one another, we do not care for one another, and we have nothing in common with one another, save our acceptance of certain religious tenets." [160] The solution to this problem was to rebuild the parish as the focus of community life, and for the church to take an increased role in society by helping its own members. Eagleton, however, saw this as a 'very reactionary' view, and rejected the call for increased Christian involvement in existing social structures, such as welfare and education, arguing in favour of the need for the revolutionizing of existing social structures:

"To renew an existing institution like the parish, making it into an effective community with its own welfare services and workers and activities, may actually weaken and confuse an overall social condition by diverting christian energies from where they should really be focused; on the work of creating, not a community within a society, but simply good, communal society. The conservative wants to keep given structures more or less as they are; the liberal wants to make them work more efficiently and humanely; the radical believes that in the case of certain structures no real change can be made short of total re-thinking." [161]

It is noteworthy, however, that the analysis is couched in terms of a need for 're-thinking', rather than in a more direct appeal to a specific programme of actions. Indeed, it has been argued that because of *Slant's* refusal or inability to formulate relevant activity to further radical Christian demands, the writing ends up focusing exclusively on the theory of change, as an abstract:

"The result is a purely theoretical argument between theology and politics, rather than between the church as an institution and politics as an activity." [162]

This sentiment is echoed in the final unsigned editorial published in *Slant* no.30:

"For some time now, it has been apparent that *Slant* has performed a specific task which, if it is to be developed, requires new means and a new kind of organization. The task briefly, has been a preliminary exploration of the relations, theoretical and

practical, between christianity and revolutionary socialism." [163]

This tension also existed for the Christian radicals of CHURCH/*Roadrunner*, and the ways in which it was expressed, will be further examined in the chapter on *Wick Court*, but it is apposite here to note that the failure to adequately resolve this key issue led to considerable disillusionment amongst many radical Christians, in both *Slant* and *Roadrunner*, and their subsequent withdrawal from any form of organized Christianity, and in some cases total apostasy.

Having considered aspects of the Christian contexts within which the radicals were active, it is also important to examine the broader secular context, and specifically the counter-culture. In order to do this, the following section focuses on three main issues: Politics, Lifestyle, and the Underground Press, as well as offering a discussion of the validity of the term 'counter culture' itself.

4. THE COUNTER-CULTURE

"It's not possible to separate the hippy aspects of 1960's youth culture, the drugs and mind-games and reconsiderations of sexuality, from the political process which fed the student movement, the anti-war movement, May 1968, the women's movement, gay liberation." [164]

The time span under discussion in this thesis represents one of the most written about periods of the twentieth century. More than thirty years later there continues to be an enormous interest amongst academics and journalists with 'The Sixties', and the broad range of political, social and cultural debates that it engendered. Before going on to consider some selected aspects of this 'counter-culture', it is worth examining the validity of the term, and what is meant by it.

Alan Sinfield has no doubt about its' usefulness:

"In the mid-sixties, frustration among young people combined with economic buoyancy to form what amounted to a 'counter-culture'...The movement was dispersed and confused, but at its most ambitious it aspired to replace the dominant

ideology by projecting existential and personal values with new urgency into the public, political domain." [165]

Writing at the time, Theodore Roszak was similarly persuaded by the validity of the term:

"It would hardly seem an exaggeration to call what we see arising among the young a 'counter culture'. Meaning: a culture so radically disaffiliated from the mainstream assumptions of our society that it scarcely looks to many as a culture at all, but takes on the alarming appearance of a barbaric intrusion." [166]

Umberto Eco offered a more analytical assessment, claiming that "Counter-culture is an overused term", and stressed the need to "first define what we mean by culture." [167] He outlined three definitions or 'types' of 'culture' – the *formation of aesthetic taste*, which is the traditional preserve of the bourgeoisie, and centres on a 'cannon' of accepted and approved works; *a superior attitude of mind*, which is contrasted with the ignorance of the 'masses'; and an *anthropological definition*, which examines rituals, rites, laws, beliefs, codified everyday behaviour, value systems and material techniques elaborated by a group of humans. Beyond these three standard definitions, however, there lies a fourth type of 'culture', which is the development of a critique of existing models of culture – "It is culture as a critical definition of the dominant culture and critical acknowledgement of emerging counter-cultures...This fourth sense of 'culture' is always, and in a positive sense, 'counter-culture'." This then enables him to offer the following definition:

"Counter-culture is thus the active critique or transformation of the existing social, scientific or aesthetic paradigm. It is religious reform. It is the heresy of whoever confers a licence upon himself and prefigures another church. It is the only cultural manifestation that a dominant culture is unable to acknowledge and accept...Counter-culture comes about when those who transform the culture in which they live become critically conscious of what they are doing and elaborate a theory of their deviation from the dominant model, *offering a model that is capable of sustaining itself*." (original emphasis) [168]

This is helpful, since it allows us to see that however dispersed, contradictory, and heterogeneous the various elements under examination here were, it is appropriate to use the term 'counter-culture' since it allows one to highlight certain distinguishing features – a developing critique of prevailing power systems and structures; increasingly anti-authoritarian impulses; the emergence of a youthful 'do-it-yourself' culture, in art, music, publishing, education, and communal living; a politics of protest employing theatricality; the growth of some new social movements, such as feminism, anti-racism, Gay Liberation, environmental awareness; and an increased interest in non-traditional spiritual experiences, including Eastern mysticism, Buddhism, Yoga, and Astrology. No single group embodied all these influences and practices, but they contribute to the overall emergence of 'youth' as a category, with its own *structure of feeling*. The critical questioning, by the Christian radicals, of the boundaries between church and society has to be seen as part of a larger assault, by the counter-culture, on boundaries *per se*, as Musgrove explained:

"A simplistic interpretation of the counter culture as revulsion, surfeit or reaction, leads to an account of polar extremes, mutually exclusive positions. In fact there is a more complex relationship of interaction, interpenetration, exchange and influence, in the realm of ideas, of institutions, and of interpersonal relationships. The politics of the counter culture ties it to mainstream society. The relationship is dialectical." [169]

For Richard Neville the explosion of 'Youth' in the 1960s was characterised by one essential defining aspect, which he called *playpower*.

"Once upon a time, culture was fun and games. Then it became earnest, drab, puritan and anti-play. Now it is being 'played' again, its quotient of fun, freedom and games proportional to its depth. Underground – rock, fashions (dressing up), happenings, movies, street theatre and living...The politics of play. The strategy which converts the Underground to a brotherhood of clowns; the lifestyle which unites a generation in love and laughter." [170]

The counter-culture combined the seeming frivolity and structurelessness of play – as undirected, and in stark opposition to the seriousness of conventional protest - with an emphasis on power, variously expressed as 'flower power',

which signalled the sincerity of its challenges to existing systems and institutions. It actively distanced itself from conventional 'boring' forms of political action, which were seen as simply part of the systems own game, and rejected 'old-fashioned' confrontations which the dominant culture could easily recognise and contain:

"Grubby Marxist leaflets and hand-me-down rhetoric won't work. It will be an irresistible, fun-possessed, play-powered counter-culture." [171]

Only one issue needed to be resolved: "In the land where the court jester is King, there is only one question – is he funny enough?" [172]

For others the emergence of the 'underground' was a much more sinister affair, as Daniel Jenkins demonstrated:

"It is undoubtedly significant for present-day society that members of the 'underground' have come up into the daylight again. The 'underground' represents the attitudes of those who explore options about human life, whether in relation to sexual behaviour, personal appearance, political organizations or to ways of reaching knowledge which have been rejected and pushed underground in the past, either by consensus or deliberate acts of suppression...To bring the inhabitants of the 'underground' into the daylight may serve only to throw into relief how wise our fore-fathers were to reject them and convince us in our turn that it is best to thrust what they stand for back where it belongs. This is certain to be true for those who love being part of the 'underground' for its own sake, *who are creatures who love the night because their works are evil.*" (my emphasis) [173]

According to Stuart Hall, there were two centrally important features of this new wave of activism. [174] Firstly it offered a radical critique of the 'system' – which linked together issues such as the existence of poverty in the midst of affluence; the power of the 'military-industrial' complex; the 'obscenity' of the Vietnam war; the manipulation practised daily by the mass media; and the impersonal, 'faceless' structures of the educational system. It thus developed an analysis that moved beyond single issue campaigning, and argued for the inherent connectedness of seemingly disparate and unconnected debates. This was exemplified by the radical Christians critique of what they termed the 'World Pig'. For them this was the multi-faceted and omni-present feature of contemporary society, both capitalist and

communist, and encompassed the global increases in military budgets; the institutions of multi-national capitalism; the 'debasement of culture'; the suppression of liberation movements abroad; and the erosion of freedom and democracy at home. [175]

Secondly, it offered a new style of political protest:

"Like street-players in costume, they have transformed the pavement into a sort of 'living theatre of the present'." [176]

"The Hippies have not only helped to define a *style*, they have made the question of *style itself* a political issue. Hippies have helped to create a repertoire of ways of confronting and contesting society which have a highly imaginative, provisional and improvisational flair. They have made their mark on the *dramaturgy* of the revolutionary movement. They take delight in the semi-staged 'happening', especially if it can be carried off in such a way as to reveal the surrealistic or Dada-esque quality of middle class life." (original emphases) [177]

This emergence of a new style is not merely incidental, but lies at the heart of understanding the importance of 'theatre' to the protests staged by the radical Christians, and will be discussed in more detail below. [178]

In order to better understand the dynamics of these overlapping and sometimes contradictory tendencies which have been loosely grouped under the title of the 'counter-culture', three broad headings have been chosen. These are: *Politics*, *Lifestyle*, and the *Underground Press*.

POLITICS

In broad terms it is possible to see extra-parliamentary left-wing activity in Britain in the 1960s as cleaving along two lines – the 'old' Left, and the (self-styled) New Left. The 'old' Left comprised traditional political groupings such as the Communist Party, and some sectors of the Labour Party, whose aims were to forge alliances with

workers, both within and beyond the confines of the Trades Unions, and much of their activity was industrially-focussed, around factory closures, and dismissals, and typically involved picketing, demonstrations, petitions, marches and similar protests.

The most active participants in the New Left were students, but bolstered by support from a number of prominent intellectuals such as Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall, and Edward Thompson. These three were not only active on the editorial board of *The New Left Review,* which offered theoretical analysis and justification of contemporary struggles, but also published their own 'socialist alternative' to Labour government policies in the *May Day Manifesto*:

"Our starting point is where people are living. Not the abstract condition of a party or a government or a country, but the condition of life of the majority of ordinary people." [179]

The unmistakable tone of Williams' writing places a typical stress on 'where people are living', and emphasises 'community' as one of the key terms of reference for any socialist policy. Whereas the 'old' Left could be typified by its commitment to a rigid Marxism (albeit the subject of a range of factional disputes), the New Left was youthful and openly rejected the simplistic formulations of the Base/Superstructure metaphor. The 'old' Left saw the working class as the agents of the historical transformation of Capitalist society, whereas the New Left, comprised of a mixed alliance of groups, saw Culture as the vanguard of any revolutionary struggle.

There were, inevitably, many tensions within the umbrella heading of the New Left, which comprised Trotskyists, Maoists, Labour Party members, Hippies, Yippies, Heads, Freaks, etc. etc. But also moments of coalescence, notably their shared opposition to the Vietnam War, which had its fullest expression in the emergence of the *Vietnam Solidarity Campaign* (VSC) and the series of demonstrations that were held in London in 1968 and 1969. These events and the linked campaign became the focal point for many young political activists. This movement was not, however, confined to Britain, but was truly international in dimension, as Raymond Williams

described it at the time:

"All over Western Europe now, in Japan and the United States and coming through in different ways in some Eastern European countries, is this active New Left which is at once democratic and libertarian, and also militantly socialist and against capitalism and imperialism." [180]

Significantly it was also the issue of the Vietnam war that prompted a group of radical Catholics, including the Berrigan brothers, Dan and Phil, to enter the Selective Service Office in Catonsville, Maryland, USA, and using 'home-made' Napalm, to destroy 600 draft card files. This event and the subsequent trial of the 'Catonsville Nine' were what led to the magazine being christened *The Catonsville Roadrunner.* [181]

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which had staged a number of marches from Aldermaston to London earlier in the 1960s, was also a rallying point for some radicals, and attracted some support from prominent religious figures at the time, such as Trevor Huddleston. But this campaign had largely fizzled out by the mid-sixties, and was numerically eclipsed by the VSC.

So on one level, overt political action was the common bond that united the fragile alliance of the New Left, and saw unprecedented large scale protests take place across the world – in countries such as France, the USA, Poland, Italy, Spain, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Yugoslavia, Columbia, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, and Japan. [182] But it should also be made clear that there were few overt connections between these radical moments, it wasn't that they were wholly unrelated to each other, but that they were rarely centrally co-ordinated or consistent. The prevalent contemporary rumours emanating from the political Right at the time, of a co-ordinated conspiracy theory, and an international plot to destabilize the world political order, appear now (as they did to most at the time) as simply laughable. [183]

During the period under discussion a new set of political issues also began to take shape, centred on what might be loosely termed a 'politics of identity'. These

included the development of feminism, which was at least in part a reaction to the rampant sexism and chauvinism that so dominated the counter-culture. The attitudes at the time can be seen in the language routinely used to describe women as 'chicks', and in the assumptions that women were defined by their bodies, and had only a secondary or supporting role to play in any revolutionary project. This was typified at its' most extreme by Stokeley Carmichael, as Jonathan Green recounts:

"'The position of women in the Revolution' declared Black Power leader Stokeley Carmichael, 'is prone', although he conceded that, given an adequate supply of envelopes, they might be good enough for 'the licking and sticking'. " [184]

Milder, though none the less offensive, versions of this attitude were widespread throughout the counter-culture in its' early stages, and were especially noticeable in the underground press. Not only did many of the papers regularly run photographs of semi-clad and naked women, but in terms of staffing there was a clear male dominance, whereby men working for the papers tended to have their names printed in full, whilst the women were described only with their first names, or credited with subordinate roles. *Roadrunner* was not immune from this, despite its' egalitarian intentions, and the first issue of the magazine listed Janette Hammond (the only woman) as 'secretary', whilst the other six names (all men) formed the 'editorial group'. This was altered for the next, and all subsequent issues, but the fact that it happened at all arguably reveals how ingrained and casual the sexist attitudes of the time were.

Also during this period the issue of sexuality was fore-grounded with the launch of the Gay Liberation Front (GLF). Originally founded in America in 1969, following a police raid on a bar, the *Stonewall Inn*, in New York, where gay men were mourning the death of Judy Garland, who had been buried earlier that day, it was formed in Britain in 1970. If anything the homophobia of the counter-culture was more intense than its' misogyny, and the GLF faced not only a struggle with the dominant culture, but also with the people fighting for social revolution. Jeffrey

Weeks summarized the main aims of the movement:

"A sense of the absolute validity of homosexuality as a sexual orientation; a belief in the vital importance of being open about one's homosexuality; and an emphasis on the importance of collective endeavour, self-activity and self help." [185]

Though there was little discussion of Gay Liberation in the pages of *Roadrunner*, radical Christians did get involved in events alongside GLF members. One of the most spectacular of these protests took place during a *Festival of Light* rally held at Central Hall, Westminster, in 1971, and saw GLF members dressed as nuns doing a conga up the main aisle, whilst other demonstrators – including some of the *Roadrunner* editorial group – heckled, and threw cushions, the initial plan to let mice loose in the building having been abandoned. [186]

The 'politics of identity' was a crucial component of the emerging *structure of feeling* for the counter-culture as a whole, and one that came to have a central importance for at least some of the members of the 'experiment in community' at *Wick Court*. It did not, however, gain as much attention amongst the radical Christians as many other more public issues and debates.

The politics of the period were complex and often contradictory. It would, for example be a mistake to see all the activists at the time embracing a similar set of objectives, or agreeing on appropriate tactics. But they did share a belief in the importance of struggle in order to achieve political change, and helped to re-define the ways in which political activity could take place. Jonathan Green summarized the mood of the time:

"The actions of the New Left are said to be 'political'. The antics of the Underground are said to be 'cultural'. In fact, both sociological manifestations are part of the behaviour pattern of a single discontented body...
There is one quality which enlivens both the political and cultural denominations of Youth protest; which provides its most important innovation; which has the greatest relevance for the future; which is the funniest, freakiest and the most effective. This is the element of play." [187]

LIFESTYLE

"Its' [the counter-culture's] life-style is conceived as the crucial touchstone, rather than knowledge of the socialist classics or a 'correct' analysis. Above all of its many schemes the counter-culture emphasises the creation and consolidation of a life-style fully compatible with its general revolutionary expectations, with the distinction between 'theory' and 'action' eliminated." [188]

One area where coherence and communication were more evident was in 'lifestyle'. Across a range of cultural practices a discernable 'youth' style was being produced and consumed. Much of this, it perhaps goes without saying, was far from the spontaneous outpourings of an 'authentic' youth culture, but owed more to the shrewd marketing techniques of unscrupulous entrepreneurs – both inside and outside the 'movement'. Nonetheless, it is too easy to cynically dismiss the flowering of an alternative counter-culture as only the product of slick PR and manipulation, since there was also genuine creativity and sincerity behind the various attempts to articulate the newly sensibility, or *structure of feeling*.

In fashion, for example, the 1960s had seen a series of transitions from the sharp modernist style of the Mods, into the more overtly 'feminised' Hippy style, with significant input from both American West Coast 'surf' culture, and various ethnic dress codes, pre-eminently those from the Indian sub-continent. [189] In popular music, Rock provided not only a focus, but also a new international language, albeit that the vast majority of its proponents were either from the United States or Britain. Groups such as *The Rolling Stones*, *The Beatles*, *The Grateful Dead*, *Jefferson Airplane*, *Pink Floyd*, *The Jimi Hendrix Experience* and *Janis Joplin* were the new cultural superstars, and commanded intense and committed loyalty. At the same time, a whole new visual style, *Psychedelia*, heavily linked to the drug culture, and in particular the use of 'Acid' (LSD) and other hallucinogenics, emerged as the dominant trope in graphic design.

There is no doubt that there was an upsurge in the use of drugs by the counter culture, during the 1960s, especially Marijuana and LSD. For some these had a

quasi-sacramental value, and were used in the quest for spiritual enlightenment. For others they were simply a recreational pastime – a central feature of the youth 'scene', and without any greater significance. Some religious commentators were broadly supportive of the impulses that lay behind certain kinds of drug use. Kenneth Leech, for example, who had extensive experience of the 'drug culture' from his work as a parish priest at St. Anne's church in Soho, saw in principle no objection to the use of LSD as part of a spiritual quest. Writing in *Youthquake* in1973 he argued that:

"What an increasing number of them [young people] are seeking through psychedelic chemicals is an experience of transcendence. It is such experiences which to a large extent our society has lost, and this has resulted in the contemporary spiritual impoverishment. But if LSD is capable of inducing the vision of God, or even helping people to reach it, then many will argue, the dangers are beside the point. It is worth the risk." [190]

Later that same year, in his book *Keep the Faith Baby*, his view had become even more unambivalent:

"I agree that the hippy represents a moral protest against a society whose moral spirit is lower than it has been for a long time. But I would go further than this and say that the fundamental motivation behind the drug culture is a search for spirituality." [191]

Nearly twenty-five years later, during interview, his views remained very similar:

"I mean I think they [drugs] were important for some people, and not for others - I don't think they were the main factor, but it seemed that at that particular point in time, if there were a resurgence of interest in the spiritual dimension, then to seek to discover what that meant through the use of drugs would seem to be the most obvious thing. You know - better living through chemistry - it's only one step from that to LSD." [192]

Despite this, there is no evidence at all to suggest that the Christian radicals ever used psychedelic drugs in this way. What drug use there was – and it is clear that many of those involved enjoyed the occasional 'joint' – was entirely recreational, and formed no part of their other activities. [193]

One key feature of this new emerging 'lifestyle' was the massive upsurge in

communal living, which saw the development of a number of alternative communities, and, notably in the UK, the re-birth of squatting as a social movement. [194] This desire for new forms of community was expressed in a variety of ways, from exclusive sect-like retreats, to a more politically engaged use of squatting as a radical challenge to existing power structures and prevailing definitions of private property. Some of these protests involved young political radicals working with groups of homeless families, helping them to find and 'open up' squats. Some examples of this kind of direct action actually gained the sympathy of the press and the police, as in the case of a squat that took place in Redbridge, where heavy-handed bailiffs, absentee landlords, and the local council received much more criticism than the radical activists and the homeless families that they were attempting to help. [195]

But when the squat was seen as less 'genuine' and motivated less by a need for a home, than by the desire to mount a challenge to the authority of the State, then the condemnation was swift, and often brutal. One famous example of this surrounded the so-called 'Hippydilly' squat that took place at 144 Piccadilly, in Central London, during 1969. Organised by the *London Street Commune*, the aim was to provide an 'alternative living situation' for the many Hipppies then sleeping rough in London parks. Amid fears that this would act as a magnet for young people from all over the country, and spark a wave of 'copycat' squats in other provincial cities, the response of the authorities was to attempt to storm the building, which led to a quasi-medieval siege situation. Hippies barricaded inside the building threw multi-coloured plastic balls, whilst the Police, armed with batons, tried to gain access. Whilst the Hippies had intended to 'opt-out', and stage a 'non-stop love-in', the police moved in to evict them, extending the 'medieval' metaphor by finally erecting a 'draw-bridge' across the barricades. [196]

For some the 'Hippydilly' squat was a powerful symbol of what was possible in terms of direct action, and how it could be used to radically undermine accepted definitions

of political protest. Steve Platt, for example, has argued that:

"The 'Hippy' squats appeared to present a starker threat to private property. The lifestyle of the Hippies, or at least the way in which it was described, was perceived as a challenge to society's most deeply held values. It called into question both the nuclear family and the work ethic, and however superficial that challenge was in reality, it was regarded by the public and the State, as a real and substantial threat."
197

Many at the time, such as Colin Ward, had high hopes for this sort of action providing a blueprint for radical change:

"[Squatting] is a harbinger of a new style of social and political activity that changes demoralised and helpless people from being the objects of social policy to becoming active fighters in their own cause." (original emphases) [198]

Others, such as John Hoyland were less optimtistic:

"And where does this leave the hippies? For the most part still wittering on about grooving and getting it together, but now in the most vacuous, sentimental and depoliticizing way. Hippy ideology has become the escape valve for thousands of young people who want some kind of justification for sitting on their arses doing nothing, while convincing themselves that their very inactivity makes them the purest revolutionaries of all." [199]

Whilst some, such as Dave Widgery, were even more cynical, memorably claiming that:

"Hippies in England represent about as powerful a challenge to the power structure of the State as people who put foreign coins in their gas meters." [200]

It is clear, however, that the desire for communal living was, for many, not simply a frivolous excuse for hedonistic self-indulgence, before they returned to their comfortable suburban homes, (as some sectors of the press claimed at the time) [201], but a real effort to 'build the revolution' by offering alternative models of domestic arrangements, which aimed to be less coercive and constrictive. Lynne Segal was one who saw it in these terms:

"The commune movement was an integral part of the counter-culture in Britain. Since the traditional nuclear family was seen as a central bulwark of hierarchical class society, it was essential to establish the possibility of alternatives." [202]

Stuart Hall offered one of the fullest analyses of the impulses that lay behind this

upsurge in communal living:

"Hippie society is best understood as an attempt to build up an arcadian enclave within the heart of city life, thereby combining two powerful cultural impulses; rural simplicity and modernity. Hippie pastoralism is the dream of an urban arcadia." [203]

Within a relatively short space of time, however, the commune movement had become fragmented and dispersed, to the point where to describe it as a 'movement' at all is misleading. The lack of political co-ordination, conflicting political ideals, and the physical isolation of many communes meant that whilst several individual examples of communal living continued – some for many years, and successfully transformed themselves into the Housing Co-operatives of the late 1970s and 1980s – already by the mid 1970s communal living had lost momentum and even become a tolerated aspect of housing policy for many local authorities, for whom it posed little or no threat. The cultural challenges it had presented were important, but as a movement it was too narrowly-focussed on the issue of housing, and lost touch with its own wide-ranging origins. [204] Alec Gordon suggested that:

"Perhaps it is precisely because it [the counter culture] was a utopian idea that it was unable to be realized as a lived form of cultural praxis in other than a marginal and fugitive way." [205]

One further aspect of this revolution in 'lifestyle' which has particular relevance to the activities of the radical Christians, was the use of flamboyant theatricality as a tool of political protest. This drew its inspiration from two counter-cultural movements, the *Provos*, and the *Situationist International,* both heavily influenced by *Dada-ism.* [206] The first *Provo* manifesto was produced in 1965, and put forward the concept of the 'provotariat':

"The proletariat is the slave of the politicians...it has joined its old enemy the bourgeoisie, and now constitutes with the bourgeoisie a huge grey mass...We live in a monolithic, sick society in which the creative individual is the exception. Big boss, capitalism, communists impose on us, tell us what we should do, what we should consume...But the provotariat wants to be itself." [207]

One practical application of this outlook were attempts to destablise the concept of

'private property'. In Amsterdam, for example, Provos, whilst actively involved in a long-running series of confrontations with the city authorities over housing, and the use of public space, were also behind the scheme to provide several thousand bicycles, all painted white, which could be used by anyone who needed them,

The use of dramatic techniques was also influenced by the activities of the *Situationist International*,[208] and especially the ways these were taken up and adopted by the 'Yippies', the creation of American activist Jerry Rubin. [209] Far from universally accepted, one commentator viewed them as: "arrogant, condescending and super-macho...(appealing only) to upper class drop-outs and certain sections of the artistic intelligentsia." [210] They, nonetheless, provided a theoretical underpinning for the forms of the new political protest.

Although multi-faceted, and riven by internal disputes and factional in-fighting, one of the defining characteristics of the *Situationists* was their emphasis on the 'spectacle' of modern society. This was given perhaps its fullest theoretical exposition by Guy Debord in *Society of the Spectacle* originally published in 1967. [211] The book is arranged as a series of statements, or 'theses', through which Debord argues that the 'spectacle' is the result of the existing mode of production – capitalism - but this is more than just an 'economic' analysis, since:

"The spectacle presents itself as something enormously positive, indisputable and inaccessible. It says nothing more than "that which appears is good, that which is good appears." The attitude which it demands in principle is passive acceptance which in fact is already obtained by its manner of appearing without reply, by its monopoly of appearance." [212]

The appropriate tactical response to this all-encompassing 'spectacle', and to counter the passivity that it engenders, took the form of '*detournement*' or subverting the meaning of existing texts and practices. So, for example, a group of students, including the prominent student leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit, set up a series of 'situations' at Nanterre University, including disrupting lectures, and

organising 'Vandal Orgies' in the middle of the campus as an affront to the university authorities, and various visiting dignitaries. [213]

The other important characteristic was the emphasis placed on self-sufficient, autonomous action:

"We absolutely refuse disciples. We are only interested in participation at the highest level; and we let loose upon the world those who are their own masters." [214]

An aspect of this strategy was the use of 'multiple names'. For example, the name *Karen Murray*, was invented to counter the stress placed on originality, and the artist as individual genius. Consequently hundreds of works of arts, installations, exhibitions, and publications have appeared across the world under the name of *Karen Murray*. Anyone can use the name in relation to any project they are working on. CHURCH had a very similar policy as the 'manifesto' published in 1967 made clear. [215]

The influence of these political ideas, and how they could be applied in practice can be seen in a letter written in 1966 by the poet Jeff Nuttall to Peggy Duff of CND. Lamenting what he saw as the ineffectiveness of conventional political protests, he outlined a number of suggestions for how political action could be better organised to achieve more impact:

"We can make ourselves effective by changing our tactics. We can pursue a course which, unlike civil disobedience and strike action, we have sufficient numbers to carry out effectively...If this campaign were quick enough and widespread enough it could transform the mental climate of our society as rapidly and as thoroughly as that climate has been recently transformed by the publicity behind pop music...Local groups I would advise to conduct public events like, for instance, this; ambulance speeds into public place. Pregnant woman is unloaded and baby is delivered while people in bureaucratic uniforms stand around loudly talking statistics. Or: a soldier in blood-sodden uniform falls into a tube train. A priest gets in the other side. Man writhes and whimpers on the floor. Priest prevents anyone from leaping to his assistance. At the next station both priest and soldier hand out Vietnam news clippings and get off the train." [216]

Another fascinating example of 'playpower' in action was an encounter between

Jerry Rubin – leader of the *Yippies* – and Mary Whitehouse, in 1970. Rubin and other *Yippies* appeared on the *Frost Show*, hosted by David Frost, on November 7th. Rather than allow Frost to set the agenda, they "squirted a water pistol in his face, 'flung four-letter words about and smoked what they said was marijuana." [217] Whitehouse described this as a 'highly successful revolutionary manoeuvre'. She consulted with the Executive Committee (of the National Viewers and Listeners Assocation) about lodging a complaint with the TV regulator at the time, the I.T.A. (Independent Television Association), though she then claims to have forgotten about this and "spent the rest of the day in the garden." Later, Independent Television News contacted her to say they were running a story about her complaints. The tenor of her reaction can be garnered from her subsequent diary entry:

"Very naïve of the Frost Show not to realize that the real purpose of the 'Yippie Show' was to demonstrate not only to Britain but to the world that they could 'take over' a TV studio. All very well saying, as the commentators no doubt will, that they showed themselves up for what they are. Maybe they will have done in our country, but the Yippies took their own camera into the studio and now have a 'blueprint' for training their revolutionary groups. They've created a precedent which will no doubt be very valuable to them." [218]

She goes on to quote Rubin [though without any comment]:

"The media does not report news, it creates it. The presence of a camera transforms a demonstration, turning us into heroes...TV time goes to those with the most guts and imagination...You can't be a revolutionary without a television set – it's as important as a gun. Every guerilla must know how to use the terrain of the culture he is trying to destroy." [219]

On Nov. 9th she had a long telephone conversation with one of the Yippies, who had called to ask her to take part in a live TV debate. She refused.

"I suppose it's one thing to watch revolutionaries in action on a television screen, quite another to have them speak to you, and to know that they know where you are!" [220]

These examples clearly capture the tone of much of the activity that the radical Christians, under the auspices of CHURCH, were to become involved with. But

although there are some striking parallels between the *Situationists* and the development of CHURCH, there are also some significant differences. CHURCH never adopted anything approaching their theoretical stance, and was, for example, little concerned with arguments about the mode of production. The most important connection is the shared stress on playfulness and humour. Viv Broughton, who was responsible for many of the CHURCH actions, expressed admiration for Situationist tactics:

"I never really understood them, but I liked what they did. The lack of humour in the organised church is a big problem, but so too is the lack of humour amongst protesters. I firmly believe that people respond to wit more than polemic." [221]

THE UNDERGROUND PRESS

"As yet the 'counter-culture' has produced only one broad unifying institution. It is not a political party or an organisation at all, but a medium – the underground press." [222]

The emergence of the 'Underground Press' during the 1960s, like many of the other themes discussed during this chapter, was not a unified or homogenous event. There was an enormous range of publications produced, in terms of political orientation, content, style, and intended readerships, and a full analysis lies beyond the scope of this thesis. [223] It is possible, however, to discern three distinguishing features. Firstly, these new papers, though in different ways, offered a distinctive mix of graphics, imagery and language; secondly they were all to some extent 'political', even if only by reference to their association with the 'underground'; and finally they were not reliant on mainstream distribution and circulation in order to reach their intended readers.

Originally a product of the West Coast psychedelic culture, with papers such as the *Berkeley Barb*, based in Los Angeles, and the *San Francisco Oracle*, the underground press rapidly established itself as an international phenomenon, with a vast array of different papers being produced on shoe-string budgets and distributed by teams of dedicated volunteers. Kenneth Leech estimates that by 1970 there

were around two thousand underground papers throughout the world. [224] In Britain the most well-known of the titles included *IT* (initially *International Times,* but forced to change its' name after the threat of legal action from the publishers of *The Times*); *Friends* (later *Frendz)*; *Black Dwarf*, *Gandalf's Garden*; and, perhaps best-known of all *OZ.*

Originally produced in Sydney, Australia (hence the title), by Richard Neville, the British version of *OZ* was established by him in London during 1967. Whilst critical attention from other sections of the media was less than positive, it did immediately attract a new generation of contributors. These included Clive James and Germaine Greer, both also from Australia, via Cambridge University, and others such as Colin MacInnes – author of *Absolute Beginners.* [225] The early issues were very London-centred, and offered a mix of satire and articles lifted from other papers. Within a short period of time, however, it had developed into the heady mix of graphics, political journalism, reviews and reports on counter-cultural activities that were to become its' hallmarks, as Richard Neville recalled:

"The overground press operates with massive in-puts of capital and a poverty of imagination. The underground's poverty is purely financial. This fact, coupled with a rabid, proselytising instinct and creative flair, determines the unique nature of Underground media. A dearth of type-setting facilities led to the discovery that simple, unjustified (ragged right-edged) columns are a pleasant alternative to rigid newspaper style. This led further in some cases to the abandonment of columns altogether, and the blending of typography with content. Underground publishers were the first to realise that if the paper is printed by a visual process, then it should be conceived of as a painting, not a child's set of picture blocks. Sections of the Underground papers have often been magnified into posters. When did you last frame a page from *The Times*?" [226]

Part of the solution to the financial problems facing the underground press, were addressed by the formation of a networked distribution system. Not only did this enable the papers to pool their limited resources in order to gain sales, it also meant that they didn't have to rely on the mainstream distributors and high-street sellers, such as WH Smiths. The *Underground Press Syndicate* (UPS) was one such network, which included papers from America and Britain, and ensured that each

paper received copies of all the other papers. This vital exchange of information, and the almost total lack of any form of copyright control, meant that articles and images appearing in one UPS paper could be, and often were, reproduced in other UPS papers. In due course other networks also emerged, such as COSMIC, that included *Roadrunner*, and which enabled it to draw on material from a much wider range of sources.

One of the most serious challenges to the whole project of the underground press came in 1971 when the three editors of OZ – Jim Anderson, Felix Dennis and Richard Neville - were put on trial over the publication of a 'School Kidz' issue. Having argued about free expression, and the oppressive effects of the education system, it was perhaps inevitable that the papers' editors would extend the editorship of the paper to a group of school pupils for a special issue. There had already been a number of provocatively themed issues of the paper, such as the '*Acid Oz*' and the *'Cunt Power Oz'*, but the 'School Kidz' issue was the one that attracted the moral disapproval of the authorities. The reasons for this are not immediately obvious, since many other issues of the paper had contained nude photographs, crude cartoons, and deliberately provocative writing. It has been suggested, though, that it was the inclusion of a drawing featuring Rupert the Bear, the much-loved children's cartoon character from the pages of *The Daily Express*, in sexual congress with the underground cartoon figure of 'Gypsy Granny' that was to provoke the backlash. [227]

The trial took place in the full glare of the media spotlight, and led to all three defendants being found guilty of "producing a magazine containing diverse obscene, lewd, indecent and sexually perverted articles, cartoons, drawings and illustrations with the intent thereby to debauch and corrupt the morals of children and young persons within the realm and arouse and implant in their minds lustful and perverted desires." [228] They received sentences ranging from nine months for Felix Dennis, to fifteen months and a recommendation for deportation back to Australia for Richard Neville. The defendants gained considerable support, not only from other sectors of

the underground, but also from concerned liberals, such as the jazz musician George Melly, the comedian Marty Feldman, and the disc jockey John Peel – who also appeared as a witness at the trial. The threat to other papers was keenly felt, and there was considerable nervousness amongst the counter-culture that their carefully cultivated network would come under increasing attack, and face being dismantled all together. In fact, the defendants successfully launched an appeal, which was given considerable support by the decision of the court authorities to give each of the men a prison haircut. This gave them a brilliant publicity coup, after the pictures had been released to the press by their barrister Geoffrey Robertson. Long hair was more than a fashion choice, it was a political statement of difference from the 'straight' world of the dominant culture, and the forcible cutting of it – a "symbolic castration" [229] - merely served to emphasise, for the counter culture, the oppressiveness of the institutions they were struggling against.

By the following year (1972) OZ had ceased publication, and its' regular contributor and then editor David Widgery wrote an 'obituary' which offered these observations:

"OZ develop(ed) a remarkable following amongst young people. And for them, OZ was almost alone in fully expressing the energy and imagination with which they were reacting against the banality and restrictions of urban life: of home, work and school, of a future illuminated by moon launches, royal gymkhanas and the dole. Their chaotic kicking against a life-long career as an obedient producer and consumer was mirrored in OZ's chaos...(Its') style expressed a desire to begin an alternative to the nightmare of the present now." [230]

The underground press outlived *OZ's* demise and continued to produce papers throughout the 1970s. But as the counter-culture that it existed to give expression to transformed and fragmented, then so to did it become less international, and more closely related to specific local issues and campaigns. *Roadrunner* lasted until 1975, though it is perhaps significant that in 1972, the same year that OZ folded, the original editorial team moved on to other projects, and handed control of the magazine to the Manchester-based collective, who then moved away from the Christian radical stance, and rapidly re-focussed the magazine on specific local

campaigns, coupled with a general interest in 'spirituality'. [231]

Summarizing the impact of the underground press, and the role it played in giving expression to the emerging *structure of feeling* at the time is complex, but it would appear that rather than the realisation of any specific projects and short-term goals, it was the cultural challenge of the underground press that was arguably its greatest achievement. Frank Musgrove argued that:

"In the grittiness of the counter culture there is a genuine, difficult, and often very courageous attempt to live the changes which may make us human." [232]

The underground press offered a space within the confines of a dominant culture, perceived as implacably hostile and unsympathetic, for new ideas to develop and occasionally flourish, and it undoubtedly provided the radical Christians with a vital means of communication, and the opportunity to reach out to whole new constituencies, and thus formed a central plank in their attempts to articulate their own distinctive *structure of feeling*.

SUMMARY

This chapter has outlined a range of key debates and issues that formed part of the cultural contexts within which the radical Christians under discussion were active. It is not my contention that any of the headings necessarily deserve more attention than others, and it is not expected that each will carry the same weight. The fluidity of lived cultures necessarily means that moments are lost, influences remain unexplained or unaccounted for, and loose ends abound. It is important, however, to recognize that radical christianity as expressed by the CHURCH/*Roadrunner*/*Wick Court* nexus, is not seen as an isolated expression or a curio, but as fully integrated, in sometimes complex and contradictory ways, with the ebb and flow of other activities - social, political, religious, and cultural.

In the following three chapters I will offer a detailed chronology of each phase of the radical Christian activity. The first of these will deal with the activities of CHURCH from 1967 – 1970; the second will concern *The Catonsville Roadrunner* from 1969-1975; and the third will examine *Wick Court* from 1974-1978. In examining each of these overlapping and interlinked phases, it is my intention to illustrate the ways in which, despite moments of confusion and contradiction, they cohere to offer a specific example of a set of struggles to articulate the emergence of a distinctive radical Christian *structure of feeling*.

Footnotes to Chapter Three:

[1] I am using the term in the way employed by Stuart Hall in his article *The Hippies: An American 'Moment'* in Nagel, J (1969) *Student Power,* London: Merlin Press. For a fuller discussion of this article and the important themes that it raises, see the section on *The Counter Culture* later in this chapter.

[2] The 1960's were described by Peregrine Worsthorne as "that evil decade" in the *Sunday Telegraph*, 19th June 1987.

[3] Whitehouse,M (1971) *Who Does She Think She Is?* London: New English Library, p.172

[4] Carter, A quoted in Maitland, S (ed) (1988) *Very Heaven: Looking Back at the 1960s*, London: Virago Press, p.4

[5] Marwick, A (1998)) *The Sixties,* Oxford: Oxford University Press p.5

[6] "We are reaping what was sown in the sixties...fashionable theories and permissive claptrap set the scene for a society in which old values of discipline and self-restraint were denigrated."
Margaret Thatcher quoted in Marwick, A (1998) p.4

[7] Rowbotham, S (2000) *Promise of a Dream: Remembering the Sixties,* Harmondsworth: Penguin Press, p.xi

[8] *The Guardian,* 26th September 1998

[9] Green, J (1999) *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counterculture,* London: Pimlico, p.xiii

[10] Tischler, B L (1992) 'Introduction' in Tischler, B L (ed) (1992) *Sights on the Sixties* New Brunswick, USA: Rutgers University Press p.5

[11] Caute, D (1988) *'68: The Year of the Barricades,* London: Paladin Books, p.vii

[12] Frewin, A (1997) 'London Blues' quoted in Green, J (1999) p.ix

[13] Events such as the *Greenbelt Festival*, *Spring Harvest, Soul Survivor* and *New Wine.*

[14] Jacob, M (1972) *Pop Goes Jesus,* London: Mowbrays, p.29. See also Blessitt, A with Wagner, W (1971) *Turned On to Jesus,* London: Word Books

[15] Jasper, T (1984) *Jesus and the Christian in a Pop Culture*, London: Robert Royce Limited, p.97.

[16] Jacob, op.cit. p.30.

[17] ibid. p.28

[18] "The New Rebel Cry: Jesus is Coming!" (*Time*, 21 June 1971) pp.32-43, quoted in Perman, D (1977) *Change and the Churches: An Anatomy of Religion in Britain,* London: The Bodley Head Ltd, p.59

[19] Martin, Bernice (1981) *A Sociology of Contemporary Cultural Change,* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, p.228

[20] Perman, D (1977) pp.60-63. See also: Whitehouse, Mary (1982) *A Most Dangerous Woman?*, Tring: Lion Publishing

[21] Perman, D (1977) p.63

[22] Leech, K (1973) *Youthquake,* London: Sheldon Press p.165
Leech provides the most comprehensively detailed contemporary account of the Jesus Movement. For other less critical overviews see: Graham, B (1971) *The Jesus Generation*, London: Hodder & Stoughton; Ortega, R (1972) *The Jesus People Speak out: what do they really believe*, London: Hodder & Stoughton; Smith, C with Steven, H (1972) *The Reproducers: New Life for Thousands*, California, USA: G/L Publications; Bright, B (1969) *Revolution Now!,* San Bernadino, USA: Campus Crusade for Christ; Green, M (1972) *Jesus Spells Freedom*, London: Inter-Varsity Fellowship. For an overview of the scene in Berkeley, California, see: (1972) *The Street People: Selections from 'Right On!' Berkeley's Christian Underground Student Newspaper*, London: Hodder Christian Paperbacks.

[23] Arthur Blessitt quoted in Jasper (1984), op.cit. p.149

[24] King, J.C. (1969) *The Evangelicals,* London: Hodder & Stoughton, p.27

[25] Leech (1973), op.cit. p.165.

[26] See the chapter on Roadrunner for further details.

[27] Jasper, Tony (1984)

[28] *BUZZ*, March 1972, p.7

[29] Tim Rice and Andrew Lloyd-Weber quoted in Braun, M (1972) *Jesus Christ Superstar: the Authorized Version*, London: Pan Books, Ltd. Pages unnumbered.

[30] Leech, op.cit. p.151

[31] *BUZZ*, June 1972, p3

[32] Quoted in Braun (1972), op.cit.

[33] For example, both Viv Broughton and Jan Hammond (later Jan Broughton) came from working class backgrounds, and had worked in manual jobs – Broughton as an indentured apprentice in an armaments factory, Hammond as a secretary. Neither attended university. John Careswell and David Hart were from solidly middle class backgrounds, and both did go to university. At the other end of the class scale, Peter Lumsden came from an extremely wealthy background, and in his early twenties inherited enough money (despite giving much of it away) to never have to work at all throughout his adult life.

[34] Cox, Harvey (1965) *The Secular City: Secularisation and Urbanisation in Theological Perspective,* London: SCM Press Ltd.

[35] Orens, J.R (1981) *Politics and the Kingdom: The legacy of the Anglican Left,* Walsall: Jubilee Publications.

[36] Rowland, C (1988) *Radical Christianity: A Reading of Recovery*, Cambridge: Polity Press

[37] ibid. p.3

[38] ibid. p.3

[39] Walker, Andrew (1987) *Restoring the Kingdom,* London: (Hodder & Stoughton, p.125

[40] ibid. p.125/6

[41] See for example Robinson, J.A.T. (1980) *The Roots of a Radical,* London: SCM Press Ltd.

[42] See chapter on Wick Court for further details.

[43] Robinson, J.A.T (1963) 'On Being a Radical', reprinted from The Listener (BBC Publications, 21 February, 1963) in Robinson, J.A.T. (1970) *Christian Freedom in a Permissive Society,* London: SCM Press Ltd., pp.2-3.

[44] See: Robinson, J.A.T. (1970) *Christian Freedom in a Permissive Society*, London: SCM Press Ltd. and Robinson, J.A.T. (1980) *The Roots of a Radical*, London: SCM Press Ltd., for a selection of these writings.

[45] Robinson, J.A.T. (1963) *Honest To God*, London: SCM Press Ltd., p.10.

[46] For further details see James, E (1987) *A Life of Bishop John A T Robinson: Scholar, Pastor, Prophet*, London: William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd.

[47] See Appendix One for a full list of publication dates and sub-titles.

[48] Letter from Andrew Webber in *Roadrunner* no. 6, p3

[49] Letter from Jim Cowie in *Roadrunner* no. 31, p.7

[50] David Poolman in *Roadrunner* no. 7, p.2

[51] See chapter on CHURCH for details of these events.

[52] See chapter on *Roadrunner* for further discussion of *Kenosis* and Lumsden.

[53] *Roadrunner* was part of *COSMIC* from issues no.2 - 14. It later became part of the *Underground Press Syndicate* (UPS) from issues No.22 – 44. From issues no.45 – 60 there are no references to any distribution network.
See also Fountain, N (1988) *Underground: The London Alternative Press 1966-74*, London: Routledge, p.47.

[54] Williams, J.A. (1986) *Church, Religion and Secularisation in the theology of Christian Radicalism 1960-69: Critical Perspectives from the Sociology of Religion* (Unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University, p.16

[55] Weiland, J.S. (1968) *New Ways in Theology,* Dublin, Eire: Gill and MacMillan Ltd., p.xiii

[56] MacIntyre, A (1968) *Marxism and Christianity,* London: Duckworth.

[57] ibid. p.2

[58] Martin, David (1969) *The Religious and the Secular: Studies in Secularisation,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, p.16

[59] Robinson, J.A.T. (1963)

[60] Williams, Raymond (1973) *The Country and the City*, London: Chatto and Windus.

[61] Robinson, J.A.T. (1963) p.8

[62] 'Today left-wing postmoderns like me are turning religion into something like art: believers must continuously reinvent their own faith.' Don Cupitt article in *the Guardian* 17th December 1989
See also: Cupitt, D (1984) *The Sea of Faith,* London: BBC Books, and Cupitt, D (1989) *Radicals and the Future of the Church*, London: SCM Press Ltd.

[63] Robinson, J.A.T. (1963)

[64] Cohen, Stan (1973) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics,* London: Paladin.

[65] See for example: Robinson, J.A.T. (1965) *The New Reformation*, London: SCM Press Ltd.; Robinson, J.A.T. (1967) *But that I can't believe!*, London: Fontana Books; Mehta, V (1965) *The New Theologian*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books; Jenkins, D (1966) *Guide to the Debate about God*, London: Lutterworth Press; Hamilton, K (1968) *What's New in Religion?: A critical study of new theology, new morality and secular Christianity,* Exeter: The Paternoster Press; Weiland, J.S. (1968) *New Ways in Theology*, Dublin, Eire: Gill and MacMillan Ltd.

[66] Vidler, A (1983) *The Church in an Age of Revolution*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, p.275

[67] Robinson, J.A.T. (1963) p.43

[68] See Tillich, P (1952) *The Courage to Be*, New Haven, USA: Yale University Press, and Tillich, P (1956) *Biblical Religion and the Search for Ultimate Reality*, London: Nisbet & Co.

[69] op.cit. p.47.

[70] ibid. p.60.

[71] Wicker, Brian (1967) *First the Political Kingdom: A Personal Appraisal of the Catholic Left in Britain*, London: Sheed & Ward, p. 100

[72] Weiland, J.S. (1968) p.97

[73] op.cit. p.118.

[74] *The Observer* 17th March 1963

[75] Mehta,V (1965) pp.19/20.

[76] quoted in ibid. p.28.

[77] See chapter on CHURCH for further details.

[78] Robinson,J.A.T. (1963) p.87.

[79] Shaw, S (1989) *No Splits: Can you trust God with the whole of your life?"*, London: Marshall Morgan and Scott Publications Ltd.

[80] Robinson (1963) p.140.

[81] Vidler, A (1983) p.276

[82] Nietzsche, Friedrich (1882) 'The Gay Science' in Hollingdale, R.J. (1977) *A Nietzsche Reader,* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

[83] In conversation with the author - November 4th 1989

[84] MacQuarrie, J (1988) *20th Century Religious Thought*, London: SCM Press Ltd., p.432

[85] Van Buren, P (1963) *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel*, London: SCM Press Ltd.

[86] Hamilton, W in Altizer, T.J.J. & Hamilton, W (1968) *Radical Theology and the Death of God,* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., p.40

[87] ibid. p.22

[88] ibid. p.42

[89] Gutierrez, Gustav (1974) *A Theology of Liberation; History, Politics and Salvation,* London: SCM Press Ltd.

[90] Ogletree, T 'The Death of God Controversy' pp.75-6 quoted in MacQuarrie (1988) p. 433

[91] MacQuarrie, J (1988) p.434

[92] Altizer, T.J.J. and Hamilton, W (1966) p.13

[93] ibid. p.14

[94] ibid. p.23

[95] ibid. p.30

[96] ibid. p.35

[97] ibid. p.52

[98] ibid. p.58

[99] ibid. p.102

[100] ibid. p.155

[101] ibid. p.164

[102] Callahan, D 'Radical Theology or Radical Titilation' in Ice, J.L. and Carey, J.J. (eds) (1967) *The Death of God Debate*, Philadelphia, USA: The Westminster Press, p.107

[103] Ogden, S 'The Reality of God' quoted in MacQuarrie, J (1988) p.436

[104] Küng, H (1980) *Does God Exist?* USA: Doubleday, p.339

[105] Berger,P.L. (1973) *The Social Reality of Religion*, Harmondsworth: Penguin University Books, p.170

[106] Cox, H (1965) *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective*, London: SCM Press Ltd., p.2

[107] ibid. p.5

[108] Merleau-Ponty, M 'Sens et Non-sens' quoted in Cox, H (1965) p.5

[109] Cox (1965) op.cit. p.18

[110] ibid. p.34

[111] ibid.

[112] ibid. p.35

[113] ibid. p.36

[114] ibid. p.214/5

[115] ibid. p.244

[116] ibid. p.242

[117] Bathes, R (1972) *Mythologies*, London: Jonathan Cape Ltd.

[118] op.cit. p.257

[119] ibid. p.107

[120] ibid. p.114

[121] ibid. p.125

[122] ibid. p.147

[123] ibid. p.154

[124] Perman, D (1977), p.57

[125] Quoted in Perman, D (1977), p.58

[126] See: Noel, C (1910) *Socialism in Church History*, London: Frank Palmer; Reckitt, M.B. (1932) *Faith and Society*, London: Longmanns, Green & Co.; Groves, R (1967) *Conrad Noel and the Thaxted Movement*, London: Merlin Press; Orens, J.R. (1981) *Politics and the Kingdom: The legacy of the Anglican Left*, Walsall: Jubilee Publications.

[127] Leech,K (ed) (1993) *Conrad Noel and the Catholic Crusade: A critical evaluation*, London: The Jubilee Group.

[128] Noel, C (1918) *The Catholic Crusade, A Manifesto* re-printed with an introduction and notes by Groves, R (1970), London: Archive One, p.13.

[129] ibid. pp.10/11.

[130] Noel, C (1928) 'Some Articles of Faith' from *The New World*, quoted in Leech (1993) p.46

[131] *The Catonsville Roadrunner* - No.4, July 1969.
This front cover, which was later reproduced by *Roadrunner* as a poster, has had an afterlife all of its' own. C.J. Stone, used the phrase in the title of his 1996 book *'Fierce Dancing: Adventures in the Underground'*, but was unaware of its origins, crediting instead to the newspaper *Maya*, produced by the Windsor Free Festival in 1974, and as recently as 2001 it was being used on a website to promote a demonstration against the Arms Trade.
(http://www.rts.gn.apc.org/disarm/flyer3b.pdf)

[132] Orens, J.R. (1981), p.17

[133] Williams, Raymond *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.124

[134] Van de Weyer, R (1988) *The Little Gidding Way*, London: Darton, Longmann & Todd.

[135] ibid. p.83

[136] Van Zandt, D.E. (1985) *Ideology and Structure in the Children of God: A Study* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics

[137] Higgins, A.G. (1982) *A History of the Brotherhood Church,* Stapleton: Brotherhood Church Yorkshire.

[138] Tom Ferris in a letter to *The Blackburn Times* – August 1899, quoted in Higgins (1982) p.6

[139] ibid. p.17

[140] Higgins (1982) p.26

[141] ibid. p.29

[142] See chapter on *Roadrunner* for further details.

[143] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994

[144] Interview with Jan Broughton, 1995

[145] Regan, S (1998) *The Eagleton Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., p.vii

[146] Eagleton, T and Wicker, B (eds) (1968) *From Culture to Revolution*, London: Sheed & Ward

[147] Interview with Terry Eagleton, 1996

[148] *Slant* Volume 2 Number 1 (Feb/March 1966) p.2

[149] ibid.

[150] McDonagh, F and Pyle,L quoted in Matthews, P (1984) *Radical Catholicism in Britain in the 1960s,* unpublished PhD thesis, Trinity College, Dubin, p.58

[151] Interview with Terry Eagleton, 1996

[152] ibid.

[153] Forming an accurate picture of the actual readership is difficult. This conclusion is drawn from my interviews with members of the editorial board of *Roadrunner*, and from conversations with people who either bought or sold the magazine at the time, such as Tony Jasper and John Duncan.

[154] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994

[155] Matthews (1984) p.14.

[156] Eagleton, T in Middleton, Neil *et al.* (eds.) (1996) *Slant Manifesto: Catholics and the Left*, London: Sheed & Ward, Ch.2

[157] Eagleton, T W*hy we are still in the church (Slant* Volume 2, Number 14, April/May 1967) p.26

[158] Wicker, B (1966) *Culture and Theology*, London: Sheed & Ward, p.19

[159] Francis McDonagh (*Slant* Volume 2, Number 1 Feb/March 1966) p.28

[160] Quoted in Wicker, B (1967) *First the Political Kingdom,* London: Sheed & Ward, p.106

[161] ibid. p.111

[162] Matthews (1984) p.115

[163] *Slant* no.30 (1970). Although unsigned, the tone of the editorial suggests that it was written by Terry Eagleton.

[164] Frith, S (1988) *Music for Pleasure: Essays in the Sociology of Pop,* Cambridge: Polity Press, p.75

[165] Sinfield, A (ed) (1983) *The Context of English Literature: Society and Literature 1945-1970*, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

[166] Roszak, T (1970) *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition*, London: Faber & Faber, p.42

[167] Eco, Umberto 'Does Counter-culture Exist?' in Lumley, R (1994) *Apocalypse Postponed*, London: Indiana University Press/BFI Publishing, p.7

[168] ibid. 16

[169] Musgrove, F (1974) *Ecstasy and Holiness: Counter Culture and the Open Society*, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., p.16

[170] Neville, R (1970) *Playpower*, London: Jonathan Cape Ltd. p.277

[171] ibid. p.258

[172] ibid. p.278

[173] Jenkins, D (1973) *The British: Their Identity and their Religion*, London: SCM Press Ltd., p.118

[174] Hall (1969) p.20

[175] See the chapter on *Roadrunner* for a fuller discussion of the 'World Pig'.

[176] Hall (1969) p.12

[177] ibid. p.21

[178] See the chapter on CHURCH for further discussion of this issue, and especially the protests staged during the Lambeth Conference in 1968.

[179] Williams, Raymond *et al.* (eds.) (1967) *May Day Manifesto*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, p.17

[180] Williams, Raymond 'Why Do I Demonstrate' - *The Listener* issue 79, 25th April 1968 - re-printed in Williams, R (1989) *Resources of Hope*, London: Verso Books, p.62

[181] See chapter on *Roadrunner* for further details.

[182] See Caute (1988) for an overview of international activities during this period.

[183] See Neville, R (1970) pp.50-51 for examples.

[184] Green, J (1999) *All Dressed Up; The Sixties and the Counter Culture*, London: Pimlico, pp.399-400.

[185] Jeffrey Weeks quoted in Green (1999) p.391

[186] Fountain, N (1988) *Underground: The London Alternative Press 1966-74*, London: Routledge, p.146.
See also: Green, J (1998) *Days in the Life: Voices from the English Underground 1961-1971*, London: Pimlico, pp.377-382 for the accounts of some of the participants in the protest.

[187] Green (1999) pp.17-19

[188] Spiers, J (1974) *The Underground and Alternative Press in Britain; A bibliographical guide with historical notes,* Sussex: Harvester Press, p.23

[189] See: Cohen, S (1972) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics,* Oxford: Blackwell, especially Chapter 6.

[190] Leech, K (1973a) p.50

[191] Leech, K (1973) *Keep the Faith Baby: A close-up of London's drop-outs*, London: SPCK, p.97

[192] Interview with Kenneth Leech, 1991

[193] Several of those I interviewed told me that they did smoke cannabis during this period, though only on an occasional basis, and never in any kind of ritualised way. One or two also said they had taken LSD infrequently.

[194] There had been a substantial squatting movement in Britain in the immediate post-war years, mostly involving ex-servicemen and their families. For further details see: Wates, N & Wolmar, C (eds) (1980) *Squatting the Real Story*, London: Bay Leaf Books; Prichard, A.M. (1981) *Squatting: Modern Legal Studies*, London: Sweet & Maxwell.

[195] Wates and Wolmar (1980) p.21

[196] ibid. pp.21-26

[197] Steve Platt in Wates and Wolmar (1980) p.25

[198] Ward, C (1969) *Housing: An Anarchist Approach* re-printed by Freedom Press, London, 1976, p.30

[199] John Hoyland – 'The Long March Through the Bingo Halls', in *OZ*, January/February 1973, quoted in Musgrove, Frank (1974) *Ecstasy and Holiness: Counter Culture and the Open Society*, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., p.26

[200] David Widgery *OZ* no.6, quoted in Neville (1970) p.173

[201] See, for instance, *The People*, September 21st 1969

[202] Segal, Lynne (1983) 'Smash the Family: Recalling the 1960s' in Segal, Lynne (ed) (1983) *What is to be Done about the Family?*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, p.47

[203] Hall (1969) p.9

[204] See Wates and Wolmar (1980) for a more upbeat assessment.

[205] Gordon, Alec (1982) *Thoughts Out of Season on Counter Culture*, London: Samizdat Publications, p.198

[206] "Dada was an international movement in the arts originating in Zurich in 1916 from a sense of total disillusionment with the art-loving public, the role of the creative artist, and, finally, with art as such; famous consequently more for its spirit of artistic flippancy and nihilism than for its purely formal methods. Its' name was found in a lexicon – it means nothing. 'This is the meaningful nothing, where

nothing has any meaning.' " *Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, p.153

[207] Paloczi-Horvath, G 'Youth Up in Arms: A Political and Social World Survey 1955-1970' p.242, quoted in Marwick (1998) p.481

[208] For a useful overview of the Situationist International see George Robertson (1988) *BLOCK*, no.14, London; Middlesex University,pp.39-53

[209] The term 'Yippies' was supposed to stand for 'Youth International Party', though this never actually existed as a formal political party.

[210] Lewis, Roger (1972) *Outlaws of America*, London: Pelican, p.86

[211] Debord, Guy (1967) *Society of the Spectacle* re-printed (1975), London: Practical Paradise Publications

[212] ibid. thesis 10

[213] Marwick (1998) pp.603-604

[214] Knabb, K, quoted in Robertson, (1988) p.47

[215] See the chapter on CHURCH for a full discussion of this 'manifesto'.

[216] Nutall, J (1968) *Bomb Culture*, London: MacGibbon & Kee Ltd., p.185

[217] Whitehouse, M (1971) *Who Does She Think She Is?*, London: New English Library, p.147

[218] ibid.

[219] Jerry Rubin quoted in ibid. p.147

[220] ibid. p.148

[221] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994

[222] Leamer, Laurence (1972) *The Paper Revolutionaries; The Rise of the Underground Press*, New York, USA: Simon & Schuster, p.13

[223] Fountain, N (1988)

[224] Leech,K (1973) p.126

[225] Fountain,N (1988) p.44

[226] Neville, R (1970) p.188

[227] Fountain, N (1988) p.143

[228] Widgery, D (1989) *Preserving Disorder*, London: Pluto Press, p.131

[229] ibid. p.134

[230] ibid. p.136

[231] See chapter on *Roadrunner* for further details.

[232] Musgrove, F (1974), p.148

CHAPTER FOUR:

"CHURCH"

CHURCH

Having evaluated the concept of *structures of feeling*, in chapter two, and offered an account of some key contextual debates in chapter three, this chapter, and the two that follow it, trace some specific aspects of the struggles to articulate the emergence of a distinctive radical Christian *structure of feeling*. These attempts can be analysed in three distinct phases – though it is also true that there were moments of continuity between each of the phases. As will been seen, several of the key personnel were active in all three phases, though it is my contention that each phase represents a specific attempt to find expression for a distinctive set of concerns. The first phase, discussed in this chapter, concerns the formation and activities of a group called CHURCH from 1967 to1970. The following phase, discussed in chapter five, relates to the magazine *The Catonsville Roadrunner*, published from 1969 to 1975. Chapter six deals with the final phase - the establishment of an 'experiment in community' at *Wick Court*, under the auspices of the *Student Christian Movement* from 1974 to1979.

As was shown previously, there had been a number of historical examples of radical Christian groups which sought to combine their commitment to Christianity with a radical political perspective. There were also in the post-war period a number of other explicitly radical Christian groups, many of which were numerically very small indeed, and there tended to be some considerable overlap in terms of membership, as well as some sharp disagreements over doctrine and politics. A full survey of these groups and their connections is beyond the scope of this thesis, though it is important to recognise that CHURCH did not emerge out of 'thin air', but that it was a distinctive response to a specific set of political and religious debates, which drew on the experiences of other radical Christians. What distinguishes CHURCH was that it struggled to articulate a new and more relevant praxis, not that it was the only group trying to do so. The whole point about *structures of feeling* is that they are shared, not simply unique.

Laurens Otter, a long-term member of the Christian Anarchist movement in Britain offered his account of the situation in the mid 1960s:

"There was already in existence an organisation called Christian Non-Violent Action [CNVA] - originally the Christian sub-committee of the Committee of 100 - and another Christian NVDA [Non-Violent Direct Action] leftist group called CHURCH; when CNVA moved away from the Committee of 100, CHURCH had been formed to replace it, so inevitably the three groups [CNVA, Christian Anarchists and CHURCH] operated in the same field and had overlapping membership. Most of our activities were joint ones, though the fact that CHURCH's name caught the eye, meant that though initially it was the smallest of the three groups, it was given credit for the actions of all three." [1]

There were denominational distinctions operating as well. Overwhelmingly the Christian Anarchists were catholic, dividing evenly between Anglo-Catholic and Roman, with Quakers making up the rest of the membership. CHURCH, in contrast, whilst attracting a large Anglican following, was much more broadly inter-denominational, and also included agnostics and atheists. There were also serious disagreements about style and politics. These formed a continual backdrop to the shared actions, and the Christian Anarchists, in particular, were later very concerned about the style of *Roadrunner*:

"Some complaints were voiced about the fact that one cannot leave *Roadrunner* easily on Church tables...though it will probably not shock priests it would almost certainly shock the elderly of the congregation. It is a christian radical paper for radicals rather than a christian radical paper for christians." [2]

This is actually a highly perceptive criticism - one that many others also expressed - which points to the heart of some continual tensions which existed for both CHURCH and *Roadrunner*. This debate will be addressed more fully in the chapter on *Roadrunner* itself, but for now it is enough to recognise that despite some shared perspectives and joint actions, CHURCH was very much its own concern, and that it would be a mistake to conflate it with other groups active during the same period.

The type of practical activities that CHURCH did engage in drew heavily on the political style of the Yippies and the *Situationist*

International though their targets tended to be less often members of the general public, and more often institutions, and especially the church. In fact the impetus behind CHURCH was very much one focussed on the institution of the official church – conceived in broadly inter-denominational terms. Perhaps inevitably much of the focus for CHURCH activities was the establishment church – the Church of England – but it is clear that Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and others, were equally held to account, especially for their attitudes towards the Vietnam War.

BEGINNINGS

"To those outside, the Church of England does not begin to look like a truly national church but only like one particularly arrogant and domineering Christian denomination, interested only in itself, and determined to hold onto its power and privileges at all costs." [3]

One might add, that this was not only the view of those on the 'outside', but was one shared by significant numbers on the 'inside' as well. It is in fact in response to this situation that the radical Christians felt the overwhelming need to take action. The overriding political concern which dominated their activities was opposition to the Vietnam war. The *Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament* (CND) had been founded in February 1958, and by 1960 attracted twenty thousand demonstrators to the annual Easter march.[4] Despite this surge in political activity there were growing divisions within the campaign, which led in October 1960 to the formation of the *Committee of 100* - a direct action group, led by veteran peace activist Betrand Russell. The emphasis within the official CND was placed on constitutional activity - marches, demonstrations, and petitions - whilst the *Committee of 100* espoused civil disobedience and non-violent direct action, such as the mass sit-down staged outside the Ministry of Defence in February 1961. At the same time there were a number of explicitly Christian peace groups such as *Pax Christi*, and the *Fellowship of Reconciliation*, which broadly supported the official CND line, and frowned on the more militant methods of confrontation adopted

by the *Committee of 100.* This division over appropriate methods provided the background for the activities of the Christian radicals a few years later.

CHURCH was very much the brain child of Viv Broughton. After leaving school, he had spent three years working first as an apprentice at the Woolwich Arsenal, and later at Fort Halstead Armaments Research and Development Establishment. During this time he had come into contact with the burgeoning music scene based around Bromley, and more and more of his time was spent in the area working with musicians such as Dick Taylor (from the *Rolling Stones*) and *Status Quo.* After a period working as a drummer with a number of bands, including *The Pretty Things*, and David Jones (later known as David Bowie), Broughton had become increasingly interested in radical Christian politics and action. He had joined *Christian CND*, though soon felt disillusioned with their lack of commitment to direct action, and had seriously considered becoming a Congregationalist Minister. After later attending an initial training weekend, he quickly decided that this was not the direction he wanted to follow. Instead, as he recalled during interview, he became more and more frustrated and angry at the Churches refusal to take a strong condemnatory line over the war in Vietnam, and began to seek ways of articulating a radical Christian response to this.

"Well, all of it was against the background of the Vietnam war, and we all felt that the church was very compromised on that...it was pretty specifically on Vietnam. But also on the property of the church, the role of the church in society, you know - whether it's an arm of the state, or whether it's got a mission to inform and challenge and put the other side basically." [5]

Jan Broughton (née Hammond), who became a long-serving member of the *Roadrunner* editorial group, and who later lived at *Wick* also remembered her feelings on getting involved with CHURCH:

"I think I was expressing my Christianity, I don't think I was political. But what I found was that, I wanted the church to be clearer in what they believed in, the statements they were making. I felt I was challenging the church, definitely, yes. It became more political as time went on,

because obviously it does. I mean, for me it was something completely different, it was nothing I'd come up against before, and I wanted to know more, I definitely wanted to know more. So I stayed with it.
I was meeting all these people for the first time, and suddenly I was hearing a lot of argument that I'd never heard before. You know, 'what is God?...up there?..inside?', for me that was startling - because I hadn't come from an intellectual background, I'd come from a working class background, and I'd left school, just gone and got a job in London." [6]

John Careswell, another future editor of *Roadrunner*, and who then went on to work for SCM during the *Wick* phase, offered his account of the formation of CHURCH:

"Christian Non-Violent Action and Christian CND were very small sub-groups of CND and the Committee of 100, and by the late sixties were very much lingering on, and so the CHURCH umbrella became something they - they didn't exactly amalgamate with - but there was a mailing list. I mean, mailing lists were the thing, I seem to remember." [7]

The name CHURCH was Broughton's invention, expressed in terms that carry clear echoes of Harvey Cox:

"The main idea was to say - We are the church, and we will not be marginalised. The church is not buildings, it is people. We wanted to exploit the anti-institutional feeling that was around, but it was also important to make as much impact as possible – gaining attention was vital. It was also a bit of fun really, so that at demos, when the police asked us who was in charge, we could say "the CHURCH is!" It was only later that we worked out that the initials could stand for something." [8]

At various points during its' history the acronym was listed as either: **CH**ristian **U**nified **R**adical **CH**urch, or **CH**ristian **U**nited **R**adical **CH**urch, but for the most part it was simply known as CHURCH. Indeed several of those closely involved with it at the time, such as Peter Lumsden and Val Hart, didn't even know that it was supposed to stand for anything!

The first clear statement, or what amounts to a 'manifesto', of CHURCH's intentions and anti-organisational structure appeared in 1967. Because of its relevance to my argument about the emergent *structure of feeling*, this is worth quoting in full:

"CHURCH began in summer '67 with angry, passionate promptings in the hearts of about 10 people from the areas surrounding Bromley,

Kent. Some were Christians, some were about to be and some were on the path of exodus. All were agreed that the church was messed up politically and spiritually and that it was failing to take revolutionary action in the ways of truth. Since the church can only be the community of men and women acting out the radical teaching of the man called Jesus Christ, and since the community that is known as the church has repeatedly refused to do just that, then it relinquishes its right to call itself the church and will hereafter be referred to in inverted commas. Men in each generation have felt anger at this masquerade some have opted out, become urban hermits or trash collectors; some have done their good thing, either inside or outside the 'church', to the accompaniment of massive contemporary condemnation. These latter are the only church that exists and lay claim with us to the name of CHURCH.

CHURCH is not nihilist, but the framework cannot co-exist with any attempt at formulating a doctrine, creed, political or social philosophy or interpretation that demands even minimal universal acceptance. Christ was concerned with liberation – from physical limitations, from self-imposed shackles of a spiritual nature, from religion and from neatly defined doctrines. CHURCH does not believe in anything at all, although each person associated with it will have his personal theology or philosophy which when acted on, will shape the nature of a CHURCH community.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE

Again, complete freedom. There are no 'members', chairman, secretary, treasurer or whatever, rather you are all of these yourself the moment you move into action. Two of us are preparing a mailing list of people involved in past activities or who may be interested in future ones, and copies of this will be available to anyone who wants it. If you think of anything that CHURCH should be doing, then organise it yourself. Headed duplicating paper with space for the organiser's name and address is available and you can use this (or print your own) to circulate your idea(s) to others on the mailing list. Duplicating facilities are available which will enable you to print your own leaflets in the name of CHURCH. As activities multiply, there will be a need for some form of non-restrictive co-ordination, and we hope to establish a common pool of money which people could contribute to and freely withdraw from, according to their conscience. At the moment there is a CHURCH bank account to deal with crossed cheques, but this is an unsatisfactory and only functional arrangement." [9] (original emphases)

What is crucial here is the continual stress on 'action'. CHURCH was, then, a shared response to a perceived lack of appropriate activity on the part of the official church towards the situation in Vietnam, but it was also a challenge to the power and wealth of the church as an

institution. This radical call to action, however, is expressed in theologically quite conservative terms. There is an appeal to the radical Christ, who was concerned with 'liberation', but at this stage there is no hint of any engagement with the radical theology being offered by writers such as Robinson, Altizer, Hamilton and Cox.

The first couple of CHURCH actions took place in 1967. These included a small group of protestors pasting fake 'dollar bills' to the pavement of Bromley High St. on a busy Saturday lunchtime. The aim being to dramatize the vast waste of money involved in the Vietnam war, and was accompanied by the distribution of leaflets criticising the government and the church for their silence on Vietnam. This event led to Broughton and three others being arrested, and subsequently fined £2 for obstruction and £2 for depositing a quantity of paste upon the highway.

This was followed by a 24-hour fast and vigil outside the parish church in Bromley, to indicate their disgust with the silence of the 'church' over Vietnam. Also in 1967 Broughton was arrested for kneeling with anti-Vietnam war posters in front of Prime Minister Harold Wilson's car when he visited Hampstead, he was later released without being charged, and the event led to an article and a photograph in the *Sunday Mirror*. Later that same year there were CHURCH 'disturbances' during Billy Graham's visit to Earls Court. Stewards working for Graham carried eight demonstrators, including Viv Broughton and Jan Hammond, out of the venue. According to a subsequent press release this: 'resulted in dozens of fantastic dialogues with CHURCH people.' [10]

These early protests were largely conventional in term of their targets and the tactics employed. Before long, however, the actions began to take on a more theatrical style, and the influence of *Situationism* became more pronounced. In April 1968 CHURCH organised a 'holy disobedience' as an act of resistance to U.S. aggression in Vietnam at Ruislip USAF Base. The demonstrators, including Rev Andrew King,

knelt in front of the main gates blocking the entrance, until they were arrested and physically removed from the base. Later the same month, on Good Friday 1968, CHURCH staged their most elaborate protest to-date. This took the form of street theatre outside Newbury Methodist Church in Berkshire. The evangelical magazine *BUZZ*, in an article titled "Church Militant: are they heroes or idiots?", interviewed Viv Broughton about the event:

> "Eight of us, dressed as Vietnamese peasants, began planting rice on the church lawn as worshippers were leaving an 11am united service. Two others in full U.S. Marine battledress and armed with sub-machine guns leapt over the church wall and, in front of a suitably shocked congregation, began to beat up the peasants and throw them out onto the street...The Marines then made a second attack, chasing the peasants down Newbury High Street and shooting them up. Bodies littered the road and pavements, at which stage baffled local police moved in and arrested Viv Broughton, bringing the action to a close." [11]

This is an excellent example of their use of dramatic techniques to graphically illustrate a protest, and to grab as much attention as possible. The event received widespread coverage in the local press, and led to several new recruits for CHURCH. It can be seen as a key moment in the struggle for articulation of the emergent *structure of feeling*, by seeking to combine a flamboyant theatricality, with a focus on the institutional church.

MAYAKOVSKY SQUARE, MOSCOW

Thus far, the protests had been aimed largely at American involvement in Vietnam, and the churches quietude. This had led to taunts from certain quarters that the group were just copying the protests of the 'underground', and that if they were genuinely concerned about human rights and civil liberties they should focus their attention on the Soviet Union. Rather than simply ignore this routine criticism from the Right, Broughton and others decided to accept the challenge, and staged a CHURCH demonstration on Kensington High St. - which was the closest they could get to the Russian Embassy – about the imprisonment of writers and poets, including Yuri Galanskov, a poet

sentenced in 1967 to seven years hard labour for his contributions to various underground literary papers, and Larisa Daniel, who had been exiled to Siberia following her part in protests about Galanskov's trial.

The date of this protest - May 1968 – was later to assume almost mythic relevance in the chronicles of secular radical action. It is significant, however, that already the radical Christians were marking their differences from the prevailing counter-culture, by explicitly targeting the issue of human rights in the Soviet Union, rather than focussing exclusively on American imperialism. This is not to suggest that they were simply 'out of step', but to illustrate the point that whilst linked to the counter-culture, they also had their own agenda, and were not the simple dupes that some claimed them to be. [12]

The Kensington High St. demonstration turned out to be a vitally important event, as it led directly to an approach from a Russian émigré organisation – NTS – about the possibility of CHURCH staging a demonstration in the heart of Moscow. John Careswell, one the 'Moscow Three', along with Viv Broughton, and Jan Hammond, remembered it thus:

"The key thing about protesting about American policy, was that one was also protesting about Russian policy as well - as I think a lot of politicised people at that time were. They weren't exclusively anti-American, they weren't therefore 'communists', as it were, on the contrary. I don't know why the connection with the human rights movement, and the imprisoned young writers began, or where the information arose from. All I knew was that suddenly it was there, and we had a demonstration, a very small quiet vigil in Kensington High Street, because we couldn't actually get into the row where the Russian Embassy used to be. This led to links with the Russian émigré groups. Some of whom one felt sympathy with, and some of whom one felt "God! They are crazy!" I think it is important for accurate records, that the suggestion of a trip to Russia and leafleting actually came from one of the Russian émigré groups. That wasn't an original idea of our own. They simply sowed this idea, or floated it, or mentioned it, and we picked it up. Whether we consciously knew at the time it was their suggestion, I don't know. But I'm prepared to say on oath that the idea was the kind of thing they would suggest." [13]

Viv Broughton offered a fuller account:

"All the anti-Vietnam war things had gone on, and they were all getting quite a lot of press publicity, and of course the taunt was always: "What about Russia?" Then there was a message that was sent out from Russian dissidents to Western peace movements, which basically said '"What about us? Don't forget about us! Show your support to us as well." So we thought "OK, we should".
So we organised a demonstration at the Russian Embassy specifically as anti-war. People who'd been very active in the anti-Vietnam war movement were also outside the Russian embassy, because we felt that had much more credibility than the usual anti-Soviet demonstration. One of the things we were always trying to do was to sort of turn people's expectations around, and not do what was expected or predicted. So we did a demonstration at the Russian Embassy, and as a result of that we were approached by one or two fairly dodgy characters who we were pretty suspicious of. One of them I think it was who ran some weird policy institute, *The Society for East-West Understanding* [14] or something like that. We had decided that we wanted to do something really ambitious on the Russian front, on the Russian issue, and we'd come up with the idea of doing this demonstration in Moscow. We then got approached by NTS, the Russian underground émigré movement, who used to be known as White Russians. They were really like a terrorist movement, like the IRA, in Russia. They operate like a quasi-espionage outfit.
They were based in Frankfurt - they've got an underground headquarters, I mean literally underground, bunkers and stuff in the middle of Frankfurt – and almost certainly get funded by the CIA. They run radio stations, and get involved in sabotage and so on. They wanted us to act as couriers for them, and they said they were willing to pay us. We said, "Well...no, we're not really interested in that...but we are interested in doing things in Russia - and this is what we'd like to do. We don't want to be compromised with you but there are certain things that you could supply to us, and as long as we are totally in control, that's fine."
They assigned to us an agent, and he used to contact us. He lived in Frankfurt, and he used to contact me every couple of days. There was a 'phone number in Beckenham to ring if I wanted to get in touch with him, and if I wanted to meet him he would fly over from Frankfurt, kind of at a moment's notice. So we had lots of meetings in various places - because at that stage there was no such thing as a map of Moscow - but we needed one to do this thing. So we agonised a bit about whether we should be involved at all with these people or not, and we decided in the end, so long as we plan the whole thing, we decide exactly what we want to do, we write the leaflet, we do everything - if we ask them certain things and they supply it to us, that's fine, we don't feel that we're compromising, we're using them, in a way. They wanted to give us some money but we said no. We didn't want money, but if, once it was over, they wanted to donate money to help with the cost of it - fine. We certainly didn't want to take the money beforehand, and possibly run the risk of it being shown that we were working for them...We thought that maybe we were being set up so we were very careful not to be

compromised in that kind of way. So we organised the whole thing, and did the demonstration." [15]

Jan Broughton remembers it slightly differently:

"I planned the demonstration that happened outside the Russian embassy, and from that I did get some fairly strange 'phone calls and also some interesting ones. There were various people that contacted us. But it was Viv's idea. I think it was Viv's idea, yes. He said, "Oh, why don't we go to Russia?" Well, it wasn't, "Why don't we go to Russia?" it was why didn't he go to Russia! I don't know how he thought about it, but I suddenly said, 'I'm coming as well'. We weren't going out together at the time. As far as NTS were concerned we certainly weren't going to do anything for them. We were going to do what we did. I mean we didn't compromise what we planned to do, for them, in any way." [16]

Despite these slight discrepancies over the origins of the idea for the protest, after several weeks of planning and organisation, Viv Broughton, John Careswell and Jan Hammond all went to Moscow, and on June 17th 1968 staged a protest in Mayakovsky Square. They had vital support in the organisation of the event from John Stott, a Methodist minister, and two others who were later to become closely involved with *Roadrunner*, Peter Lumsden and Bob Overy.

Lumsden, who described himself as having had a "fairly conventional upper class upbringing" had inherited a large amount of money at the age of 25, - "I realised I didn't have to do another hand's turn the rest of my life", [17] and was able to quit his job as an aeroplane engineer. It was his money that was used to finance the Moscow protest. He and Bob Overy also arranged the publicity for the demonstration, by circulating press releases to all the various news agencies in Britain, once the protestors were in Moscow.

The three CHURCH members flew over together on June 16th, sitting in non-adjacent seats on the flight, and with the leaflets they intended to distribute strapped to John Careswell's chest:

"My clearest memory is of having got to Russia and had our few days there, doing all the John Le Carré type things, like speaking in quiet whispers in the corridors so that we couldn't be overheard, the rooms were bugged, we felt, denying that we knew each other on the plane, and

all this sort of thing. I had to carry the leaflets. I had them in the lining of a jacket, and maybe I had some strapped to my body, and then coming back and having this News at Ten interview with Peter Snow, and I remember him briefing me saying, 'I'm going to ask you where you hid the leaflets, and you've got to say it's in your jacket' and I said, 'But it wasn't in this jacket!', and he said, 'That doesn't matter! You've got to say it's in that jacket!' [laughter] [18]

The text of the leaflet, written in English (!), aimed to draw attention to the imprisonment of writers critical of the Soviet system:

"In recent years, many of us in the west, who share with the Soviet people a passionate desire for a humane and just alternative to the capitalist system of exploitation have been saddened to see your great country take such repressive measures against a small handful of young writers and poets whose only crime was to demand that implicit in the idea of socialist justice was the freedom to experiment with political and artistic ideas." [19]

On the morning of the protest, having contacted some newspapers in Moscow informing them of their intention to hold the demonstration, the three made their way to Mayakovsky Square. Jan Broughton remembers that almost immediately they ran into trouble:

"Viv made a 'phone call to London to say that we were doing it. This was to Bob [Overy] and Peter Lumsden. And John and I carried on up the road to Mayakovsky Square, and I suddenly got accosted by this guy who was speaking Russian, and he was really waving his arms around, and exclaiming, and I thought, 'Jesus, we've been done! They know us already! [laughs] And fortunately there was English press there, and he just came up, and he spoke to the Russian. The Russian was just having a go because I was wearing trousers...so that was a bit of a freaky time. We waited for Viv in the square, and then we decided we'd just do it separately, we wouldn't hand out the leaflets together. Which is what we did. John went first, I was second and Viv was last. I was the only one that was actually physically assaulted...I think that was because I was a woman. They punched me in the back. It's very effective being punched in the back, you just sort of crumple. John was taken separately somewhere else, and Viv and I were taken down to the underground station to a room there." [20]

Following their arrest, the three were held for seven hours, and then having signed statements that they were not members of any "subversive organisation", were more or less immediately taken to the airport, and put on the next plane back to London. They flew via Paris, where several

members of the British media also caught the flight. The protestors arrived back in London to a tumultuous reception from the press, as Jan Broughton recalled:

"It got huge coverage. Huge. Again, we were naïve to see how much there was. We didn't imagine there'd be that much. I think it was three days on the front page...They extended the 10 o'clock news for us. We were treated like royalty, I couldn't believe it. When we got to Heathrow, and the doors opened, and we were let out, it was like...there was everyone down there. I found that more scary than being arrested. And from Paris to Heathrow, we had reporters - Peter Snow was on the plane - everybody was on the plane, all wanting a different angle." [21]

The media coverage gained CHURCH considerable national attention,[22] enabling them to raise enough money from selling interviews, and from the donations they received – including £100 from Paul McCartney - that they were able to pay Peter Lumsden back in full, and still have some left over. Viv Broughton recollected being thrilled by the response to the demonstration:

"Obviously that really put CHURCH on the map, we were nationally known then. I got stopped in the street, and all that kind of stuff, for a little while it was kind of real celebrity status. Lorry drivers hanging out of the lorry and going, "Alright mate! How ya doing? Saw you on the telly!" [laughter] [23]

The media coverage was broadly sympathetic. In a front page article, featuring a large photograph of the three, headlined "Britons back from Moscow defiant and triumphant", *The Times* wrote:

"CHURCH was formed a year ago as an alliance of Christian radicals, Marxists and anarchists and it took the name of CHURCH to "counter the reactionary impression of Christianity given by the established churches". Street demonstrations against American involvement in Vietnam and attempted blockades of United States Air Force bases have brought the group into prominence." [24]

After a few days, however, the news agenda had shifted again – Britain's first heart transplant patient died - and, as it turned out, CHURCH never again managed to attract so much publicity for any of their actions. Several months later the trio received a smuggled telegram of thanks from Larissa Daniels and Pavel Litvinov who were both serving

sentences in Siberia for their opposition to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. [25] It read:

"We are deeply moved by the bold action of the three young Britons who demonstrated openly in defence of human rights in our country. Several months ago we realised that our protest had found a response among leading cultural figures in Europe and America. This was for us an enormous moral support. Now we are delighted to see, from the example of the Britons, that in addition the progressive young people of the West understand the object of our struggle." [26]

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE

Buoyed up with by success of the Moscow demonstration CHURCH then undertook probably its most imaginative series of protests, centred around the ten-yearly gathering of the Anglican Church, at the Lambeth Conference of 1968. These included: an 'invasion' of a garden party held at Canterbury, a street theatre event staged outside a banquet held for the bishops at the Guildhall in London, at which they were greeted by a group of protestors dressed as beggars, complete with begging bowls, and a series of demonstrations held outside the conference itself, which culminated in a group forcing entry to the conference and disrupting the proceedings.

Although the action took a number of forms, the key political message, and one which was written on the banner which the activists took into the conference room, was 'Justice Not Charity'. This slogan was mobilized on a number of different levels: to refer to the wealth of the church; its' status as a part of the establishment; the property-owning activities of the Church Commissioners; and as an assault on the complacency of the church in intervening in social struggles. The result of these actions was not quite what the radicals had expected. Far from provoking outrage, which had been the intention, the demonstrators were somewhat disarmed by the response of a number of the bishops, as one of the demonstrators, Val Hart, who at the time was married to David Hart, recalled:

"I remember I was holding up this thing which said 'Justice not Charity', which was the thing that we had decided in the end was the most important single message that we could give to all these sods about the Third World, which they were discussing. It's difficult to find something that can be said in three or four words on a banner, but we had decided that this was it. So all these people were trying to invade the place, and of all the bad luck, it was me that got through! [laughter] I think it was me and Jan [Hammond], and there we were standing in front of this great sea of bishops, all dressed in purple, it was an amazing spectacle, with this kind of amphitheatre all round us, and them all gazing at us holding up this banner 'Justice not Charity' [laughter] And what they did was, they applauded! [laughter] So there'd been all these security blokes giving people all this hassle as they were trying to invade the place, we got in there and then the bishops say 'Oh, yes absolutely right!', and thinking how wonderful it was! [laughter] So they didn't actually arrest us, they just gently ushered us out. I think on reflection that someone should have grabbed the microphone and made some dramatic speech, but at that time we didn't." [27]

The attempted disruption of the conference was perplexing, prompting the assembled bishops to burst into applause, and led to a meeting being organised by the bishops at which the radicals were given the opportunity to present their arguments, where they were listened to with what David Hart described as "studied sympathetic expressions." Then there was a meeting between the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Michael Ramsay, and three of the demonstrators - Viv Broughton, John Careswell, and David Hart. Viv Broughton remembers the various events as follows:

"We did a number of things. We went to the garden party in Canterbury, and I think we just demonstrated at that and had placards outside - knobbled a few of the bishops as they went in.
I seem to remember we got invited in there, and we talked to a few of them, and so on. Then we did a bit of street theatre at the Guildhall where they had their banquet. You know, the bishops and all their wives turned up in these Rolls Royces and all this kind of stuff, and we were all dressed up as beggars, with begging bowls - that kind of thing, and that got a bit of publicity. Then we got a 'phone call from one of the bishops who invited us to go and meet them. So I think there were about a dozen bishops at a place next door to St. Martin's-in-the-fields. I think 3 or 4 of us went down there and met them, and we had a discussion, and so on and so forth. And they said "Well, we're very concerned", you know, "about what you've got to say", and all the rest of it. Then they went away and arranged the meeting with Ramsey." [28]

No one can recall exactly how David Hart had first become involved with CHURCH, though he had himself been active in various student protests during the previous few years, and he was later to become a central contributor to *Roadrunner*. At this time he was working as a curate at St.Michael's in Highgate, and was the only ordained minister to become closely involved with this flowering of radical Christian activity. The meeting with the Archbishop was a memorable event for the CHURCH protestors, as Viv Broughton remembered:

"Oh..that was like..I'll never forget that guy. It was the most bizarre meeting. We rolled up to Lambeth Palace, and..well, you'll never have seen the guy, but he was the most bizarre character. The idea was that we were going to have a discussion with him, and he would sit there - he had these enormous beetley eyebrows, enormous, and they moved all the time! He sat there rocking backwards and forwards, with these eyebrows going up and down, you know, twitching away. It was impossible to say anything to the guy [laughter]. We were mesmerised by the vision of this manic character! [laughter] And we were thinking "Well, this is the Archbishop of Canterbury!" He talked all the time while we were talking. He'd go "Yes yes, yes yes, yes yes, yes yes" - so that was a bit unnerving, and obviously he wasn't listening to anything we had to say. And then he said "Well I think we should all pray." So he got on his knees, and invited us to get on our knees, I mean it was real spiritual blackmail. You can't really tell the Archbishop of Canterbury 'I ain't going to pray with you mate!' you know. [laughter] So we did it, and it was one of these prayers which, you know, it wasn't a prayer at all, it was really him saying his piece, and using the power of the moment to silence us. I felt incredibly angry about that. It was the sort of thing where you felt "Oh, I'm going to get up and say something". But we didn't do that in the end, we saw that through, and that was it. It was obviously a bit of waste of time. But it was a very bizarre incident though." [29]

John Careswell's memory of the events is perhaps more caustic:

"JC: The Lambeth CHURCH thing? Well, this was just a typical example of upsetting our elders and betters. You know it's all Freudian stuff, it's all anti-authority, it was all just pulling daddy's beard basically. Pretty pathetic really, I can't defend it. I mean, you know, Jan and me climbing into this silly garden party and giving out leaflets, and lovely Oliver Tomkins, one of the senior Anglican bishops at that time, just sort of saying, 'There there, if you want to talk to us, that's fine, let's arrange a meeting'. And then we'd go back and think, 'Oh shit! They've co-opted us!' [laughs] That was exactly what we felt like, you see. We got this interview with Michael Ramsey, the then Archbishop..

EP-D: What was that like?

JC: On one level you could say it was pointless, on another level you could say it was a classic example of being co-opted, and on another level you could say it just showed that nothing could be achieved that way. I mean the high point for me was him, and I felt...I'm not sure that I had then, but subsequently I've had a lot of respect for Michael Ramsay, because I feel of all recent Archbishops of Canterbury, he was the one on whom the whole office sat very lightly. I mean he was an amiable buffoon as well, but I felt that was part of the fact that it all sat lightly on him. Because everybody criticised the wealth of the church at the time he sold his Daimler and got a Morris Minor, but he still had a chauffeur! [laughter]
That's the level on which he wanted to respond. But I do remember, when we were invited into Lambeth Palace and there's all these gilded portraits and long carpeted corridors and that, of course we were mumbling something like, "What about the poor?", and all this kind of thing - literally, we were mumbling it - and he was saying, "But I only live in two rooms!" [laughter] And I'm sure he meant it. "The rest are offices!", he said, "You don't want me to make these people unemployed." That was his line, "I only live in two rooms." And then the other thing was, when we actually sat down and talked, he turned to his press secretary who was there at the time, and said, "I'm really quite surprised about these young people, they're really quite conservative you know. I thought these anarchists were supposed to be radical." I felt that was very clever, and also very accurate. I think we were very conservative actually." [30]

David Hart's version is less harsh:

"I remember when we went into the Lambeth conference. We all went in there, and we held up this thing saying 'Not Charity - But Justice'. I remember it very well, 'cos the bishop who first accepted me for ordination shut the door on me [laughs]. Then after that I remember Harry Edwards saying quite ruefully, and just in a nice way, 'I'd have thought' he said, 'not justice, but charity'. You know, it wasn't an aggressive thing at all, he just was very whimsical about it.
I was already feeling adventurous in what I was trying to do. And Viv was a very persuasive sort of person, and I sort of knew that Viv needed a clergyman with him, you know, it would help CHURCH, it would help the things they did. So I felt at the same time involved and sort of used - but willingly, and I was aware of that.
Me and Viv went over there to Lambeth Palace, all ready to do battle, and of course he just sat us down and gave us a cup of tea [laughter]- he told us that he drove around in his little Austin Seven. He was a very humble man, he was lovely, and he was very gentle.
We were saying "How can the church be an example to the world, if bishops live in palaces?" and that became a key symbolic thing, it's the way that people, matter-of-factly, see the church. They see big rectories, and a lot of land, gold vestments and stuff, and it looks as if they're doing alright, and they're safe. But it was that sense of wanting to see the

church risking more, I suppose. But we hadn't seen it all through, and I'm not sure we were prepared to in our own lives. I mean I was living in a very nice curate's house at the time. [laughter]" [31]

David Hart then wrote a letter to the *Church Times*, outlining his, and CHURCH's opposition of the power and wealth of the established church:

"The church is characterised by having betrayed Jesus. Jesus himself was a liberator, and his life seems to make sense as a possible human way to freedom...My interpretation is that Jesus was not a teacher but a liberator. He was not a builder but a liberator. He was not a hawker of tradition: he was a liberator. If bishops walk around in robes, attend the top civil and political functions, have police protection, spend their time talking about who they will or will not allow to receive communion – are they men whom other people will treat seriously? No, the bishops are already seen to have opted out of the situation most people in England are in." [32]

The tangible results of the Lambeth Conference demonstrations were negligible in terms of posing a direct challenge to the authority or wealth of the established church. What they did achieve, though, was more publicity for CHURCH, and they brought the Harts into contact with the movement, which was to prove a crucial development. David Hart in particular played a vital part in *Roadrunner* and given his position as an ordained member of the church, together with his own fluent articulacy, meant that he often appeared as the public face of the radical Christians, along with Viv Broughton.. Broughton and Hart were both strong personalities, though with very different perspectives on the nature of the struggle they were involved in. This led to occasional clashes in subsequent years, but throughout they shared a deep respect for each other, and Hart's involvement with the CHURCH phase of radical Christianity, whilst not central in terms of planning events, was to prove extremely costly in personal terms. [33]

Following the Lambeth Conference, an updated CHURCH manifesto was produced. This contained some significant amendments to the 1967 version, and offered two introductory quotations, firstly from Colin

Morris, a radical Christian, and then from Daniel Cohn-Bendit, one of the student leaders of the May events in Paris 1968:

"Jesus is a revolutionary. He stood for the radical discontinuity between the past and the future. He offered men no hope that they would build carefully and slowly on what had gone before." [34]

"One must avoid creating an organisation or defining a programme, for this would mean an inevitable paralysis. The movement's only hope lies in this disorder, in which people talk freely and develop certain forms of auto-organisation." [35]

The updated manifesto statement was published under the heading: "*CHURCH: Revolution*": [The changes from the original are in italics]

"CHURCH began in Bromley, Kent with ten young people and the anger and passion of Vietnamese summer '67. Some were Christians, some were about to be and some were on the path of exodus. All were agreed that the church was messed up politically and spiritually and that it was failing to take revolutionary action in the ways of truth.
Since the church can only be the community of men and women <u>acting out</u> the radical teaching of the man called Jesus Christ, *all else that Christians build is treason to Him. Our church has built a gigantic mockery of Christ, the supreme Lover. It supports war and racism and is hostile to the wretched of the earth. It is a masquerade that men in each generation have felt anger at.* Some have opted out, become urban hermits or trash collectors; some have done their good thing, either inside or outside the 'church', to the accompaniment of massive contemporary condemnation. These latter are the only church that *has ever existed* and lay claim with us to the name of CHURCH.

CHURCH is not nihilist, but the framework cannot co-exist with any attempt at formulating a doctrine, creed, political or social philosophy or interpretation that demands even minimal universal acceptance. Christ was concerned with liberation – from physical limitations, from self-imposed shackles of a spiritual nature, from religion and from neatly defined doctrines. CHURCH does not believe in anything at all, although each person associated with it will have his personal theology or philosophy which <u>when acted on</u>, will shape the nature of a CHURCH community. *We exist only in so far as we take action to further the total revolution of Jesus Christ."*

[Under the heading: *"CHURCH: Free"]*

"If you have something in your mind that you feel CHURCH should be doing, quite literally, you organise it yourself. No idea needs the approval of a minority (or of the majority) in order for it to appear on the streets. CHURCH is simply a mailing list of Christians involved in radical action, a bank for those who wish to do the truth.

<u>You can freely contribute and freely withdraw</u>: ideas, energy, time, money, talents (artists, writers, typists, speakers, printers, antisoldiers, photographers, musicians, organisers, etc.), equipment (duplicators, electrostencilling, vehicles, costumes, mock rifles, paper, leaflets, etc. Information about all military installations and link-ups between the military and commercial/educational concerns, corruption and racism in the church, revolutionary Christians throughout the world, etc.

Write and tell us what help you can offer CHURCH and what help CHURCH can offer you. There are no restrictions in either direction." [36]

Interestingly the original proposal for a CHURCH bank account had been dropped, and the list of available resources has been considerably enlarged. What this reveals is that CHURCH was finding its' feet as a campaigning organisation, and had moved on from the first uncertain expressions of anger and resentment at the church, to having a more developed critique of social injustice across a wide sphere of activities. Soon, however, they were to return to the issue that had motivated their existence in the first place, namely the war in Vietnam.

GROSVENOR SQUARE

October 27th 1968 was the date of a major anti-Vietnam war march, organised by the *Vietnam Solidarity Campaign*, culminating in a demonstration in Grosvenor Square, London. CHURCH staged a linked event on the previous day, by occupying St. Mark's church in North Audley Street, which was used by the American Navy as a chapel.

Halloran, Elliott and Murdock, who chronicled the whole demonstration in considerable detail, described CHURCH's involvement, as follows:

"At 11 a.m. twelve members of the radical Christian Group CHURCH ended their peaceful twenty-four hour occupation of the church...This group, originally numbering thirty-five, had entered the church on Saturday morning between 11.15 and 11.30 a.m. where, led by an Anglican curate from Highgate, David Hart, they had commenced a series of readings, hymns, prayers and responses entitled 'Requiem for all the Dead of Vietnam'. They had remained in the church until

Sunday morning despite appeals to them to leave by the verger, the warden and the vicar of St, Mark's, Rev. William Atkins. Regular Sunday services at the church were cancelled." [37]

This is one of the key events that led to David Hart being dismissed from his post at Highgate, in circumstances that were less than charitable to his wife, Val, as she recalled:

Val Hart: "Actually I was very heavily pregnant at the time, Josh was due three weeks later, so I was very pregnant [laughs]. I thought it was really excellent having a connected, but separate protest, which related specifically to the church. Grosvenor Square chapel did have the American flag draped all over the altar, and I think it was a brilliant coup. I think it was Viv that located it, and I thought it was brilliant, and I still do...excellent. Yes, we held a vigil all-day and all-night....But for us personally it had the most gruesome repercussions, because one of the things that happened was that David was down at the chapel in Grosvenor Square and didn't in fact go and conduct the services he should have done up in Highgate. This was a big dynamite issue this was! That evening we were at home having just got back, and we were of course living in the curate's house, and the vicar came round in the most terrible rage, and sacked David.

E P-D: On the spot?

Val: Yes. He told us we'd got to leave the house the next morning, and actually it was one of the last straws for me as far as the church was concerned. It was absolutely outrageous that he was prepared to do that to us when we were expecting a baby so soon. So, there were the most colossal rows, and you will find it in the newspapers. There were headlines in, I think, the *Daily Mirror* - 'Curate Sacked', that kind of thing. There was colossal press publicity. The parochial church council persuaded the vicar in the end that we could stay until after Josh was born, and you can imagine how lovely that was!" [38]

The Grosvenor Square demonstrations signalled a significant change in the possibilities for radical action, as Fred Inglis observed:

"What with the grand march and demonstration against the Vietnam War and American misconduct outside the US Embassy one mild autumnal Sunday in October 1968, it seemed so tangible that a new feeling was abroad. A widespread rush of mature and fervent sentiment through crumbling old rigidities might at that very moment be surging towards a humane collectivism, a rejection of capitalism's neglect of poverty at home and cruelty abroad, a hope for the possession of one's own job in factory or shop or school, for a voice of own's one in newspaper and television. And so it truly might. It was [Raymond] Williams after all who had taught the power in history of the sentiments, and the importance of grasping an epoch and its key moments in terms of the structure of feeling which both framed and impelled it." [39]

This particular action is a good example of how CHURCH sought to develop linked campaigns, which whilst part of the main protest against the Vietnam War, focussed on the specific issue of the churches involvement. Following the Moscow demonstration and the Grosvenor Square occupation, CHURCH had been gaining substantial publicity, and more and more disaffected young Christian radicals began getting in touch to express their sympathy and support. This resulted in a meeting being organised a few months later, on February 22nd 1969, called a 'One Day CHURCH Exchange', which was held in London. Attendees included Viv Broughton, Jan Hammond, John Careswell, David Hart, Kenneth Leech, Laurens Otter, Bob Overy, and Rev. John Stott.

"It could have been a damp squib. The "Assembly" of CHURCH however, held, at Euston on 22nd February was more of a rocket no one's sure where it's going to land. But at least it's been sent up...It was not a meeting for resolutions. So we were left with the general agreement that there was to be no long-term manifesto. Our programme was to be charity without law." [40]

There was much discussion of the direction that CHURCH should take, including a proposal from Viv Broughton for a longer-term project based around St. Mark's, the US Naval Chapel. He argued that they should attempt to take over the premises, as this could provide them with a base from which to operate, and to offer "drama, dancing, and a home". [41] Others felt that CHURCH ran the risk of becoming too preoccupied with buildings, but all agreed that the time was right for a new initiative, and as a direct result *The Catonsville Roadrunner* was launched in April 1969, funded, in the first instance, according to John Careswell, by the profits made from the Moscow trip. [42]

With the launch of the magazine, there were to be no more large-scale CHURCH actions, though several smaller events did take place over the next 12 months. These included an attempt by James Taylor, a lock-gateman at Tilbury Docks and member of CHURCH, in March 1969, to get his union to refuse exit to ships carrying arms for Nigeria, and a 48-hour fast in Bristol Cathedral, organised by a local CHURCH

group. The event was reported in *Roadrunner* April 1969, but no other details were given. On May 31st 1969, there was an announcement of a planned CHURCH demo outside the Spanish Embassy to protest against the Franco government, with "a vigil with crosses, and then presentation of crosses to embassy staff" – and a photograph of this event subsequently appeared in *Roadrunner* July 1969.

On 15th July 1969, there was an "Open Editorial Meeting" for a CHURCH group in Walthamstow, East London. Much of this meeting was devoted to discussion of tactics, and the formulation of appropriate actions to further the aims of CHURCH. The August 1969 issue of *Roadrunner* commented: "The open meeting was held on July 15th. We made some more friends and met some old criticisms; we are happy to adopt Geof Bevan's letter as our reply."

Geof Bevan's letter in *Roadrunner* no.5, offered a much more radical view than that being considered by some of those involved, and explicitly rejected the idea of being arrested as an integral aspect of any future actions. For those closely involved with Non-Violent Direct Action (NVDA) campaigns, this was often a central part of the programme, to carry out a protest action, and then to "own the action" by waiting to be arrested afterwards. Bevan had a very different approach:

"Catonsville baby! I'm with you, only herewith a few words: the first duty of the revolutionary is to make the revolution. So not a load of pretentious PR shit 'we are going to' this and that. Do it baby, and then let everyone else catch up with the words. The second duty of the revolutionary is not to get caught. So none of this 'taking the consequences upon yourself'. Life is theatre. Doing your thing and getting away with it is good, revolutionary theatre.
Letting yourself be arrested, going through all that illegitimate legal crap and voluntarily walking into that gaol is bad, masochistic theatre. It is the duty of the revolutionary to stay out of gaol.
Never explain what you are doing. Then they will understand and understanding is the first step to control. Do the creative thing - burning - taking over - building alternatives - and maybe some people will get it. If they don't, sod 'em, maybe they'll get it next time.
Never respond to criticism. Then you end up doing everybody's thing but your own. Celebrate life, dance your fierce dances and laugh -

laugh at the stupid god-like pretensions of all those who think they're going to change the world - 'roadrunners' included - when it's here now all around us. All we gotta do is 'get it together'. Simple." [43]

Three months later Geof Bevan was on the editorial board of *Roadrunner*, a position he held for eight issues from November 1969 to July 1970. This remarkable letter, though, and its' endorsement by CHURCH, led to some heated exchanges on the letters page. Bob Overy in September 1969 was particularly critical of Bevan's "PR pig shit":

"It would be stupid of me to say that the duty of the revolutionary is to be in jail. But he cannot avoid taking the consequences of his actions on himself. It's pure evasion to pretend that he can. The reason why truth does not prevail in this world is because too many compromises are made. If we make as few compromises as we can we must recognise that the consequences for ourselves will be difficult, will change our lives, and our job prospects, and will sometimes lead us to jail or worse." [44]

Dave Tilby in October 1969 expressed similar sentiments:

"There is too much in RR which disgusts me...I have discussed this with several others, and all would have been much more willing to consider your point of view if you did not use such unChristlike methods to express it." [45]

These disagreements indicate a central tension that existed for CHURCH, that is the extent to which it existed as a forum for radicals, or as a forum for Christians. By closely identifying with the tactics of the counter-culture, it is clear that CHURCH alienated some of those interested in the radical Christian dimension, but favouring less confrontational methods and tactics. This was a tension that was to exist throughout the period under discussion, and appeared again in the pages of *Roadrunner*, notably in an exchange between Bevan and Broughton in issues 24 and 25, and later during the 'experiment in community' at *Wick Court*. [46]

In August 1969, there was the first announcement in *Roadrunner* for what was to prove the final major CHURCH protest, a demonstration at St. Paul's Cathedral. A letter written on behalf of CHURCH to the Dean

of St. Paul's, Martin Sullivan, and signed by all the then editors of *Roadrunner*, was re-printed:

"In October, a memorial chapel for the Queen's Regiment is being opened in the North Transept of St. Paul's Cathedral, following a march through the City of London with fixed bayonets by 'D' company of the same regiment.
This whole enterprise is immoral in that it upholds the pagan doctrine, still encouraged by clergymen, that war is somehow reconcilable with the non-violence of Jesus. It is sacrilegious in that it transforms the purpose of a house of peace. Accordingly, we ask you to stop this ludicrous activity.
If, however, our appeal to you goes without results, we give notice of our intention to organise ways of preventing this monstrous blasphemy ourselves.
St. Paul's is a liberated zone – We shall defend it"

This was followed in October 1969, with an advert calling for support:

"Celebrate life – off the world pig!
On Saturday, October 11th, 'D' company of the Queen's Regiment will be marching with fixed bayonets in an attempt to seize part of St. Paul's cathedral for military purposes. Be there with bread, flutes, posters, flowers, drums, balloons, wine, books, crucifixes and other offensive weapons. Lay it all on the troops"

After the event, which involved staging a Eucharist on the steps of the cathedral, some of those involved wrote to *New Christian* magazine about the protest:

"Last Saturday's affair showed the cathedral's present position in a dramatic form. When the great west door was opened, and the cathedral hierarchy stood to welcome the Lord Mayor and his party, these clerics looked down upon limousines and wooden crosses. Which group would the cathedral be *seen* to support?...Whom does St Paul's show solidarity with? The forces which sweep away the Eucharist to make straight the way for marching feet? Or those foolish people with balloons and slogans who believe that the church is the sacrament of a new society, not the shrine of an unjust world." [47]

Roadrunner in its' November 1969 issue, described the event as follows:

"The police moved in as D Company of the Queen's Regiment appeared, band blaring, fixed bayonets glinting in the sun, for the dedication of their chapel. Kneeling communicants were carried off; the flowers were trampled under police boots; the wine was spilt and streamed down the steps...As Army officers, City dignitaries and fellow

limbs of the Pig trooped into the cathedral, a mighty cry of 'Demons Out, Worship Not War' echoed along the nave after them." [48]

The event offered CHURCH the opportunity to reflect on their future tactics, and they concluded that: "We must be more militant, organise better, resist arrest or removal with greater determination. And we need many more people." [49] This lack of support, shows that it was apparent that the radical Christians had found a new focus – *Roadrunner* - and that whilst the name CHURCH continued to be attached to a number of joint initiatives, the theatricality of the Moscow and Lambeth Conference protests were behind them. A CHURCH choir was formed during the Autumn of 1969, possibly reflecting Viv Broughton's interests in Gospel music, which led to an announcement for a weekly workshop to be held at Union Church, Highgate. This venture was to become the short-lived '*Electric Church*' – which was reviewed in more detail in the November 1969 issue of *Roadrunner*.

""There's no point in just modifying the old stuff because all that belongs to a different experience, different politics, a different culture...Electric Church is filled with some nice, very gutty sounds, using a lot of percussion and voices. Dancing, procession, even lights and scents seem other fields for experiment and the group hope eventually to hold regular services and to be active during street resistance. 'We have to be a celebrating church and a guerrilla church' " [50]

There is, however, no evidence to show that this initiative was developed further, and instead Viv Broughton began to think again about his long-held ambition to establish a permanent base for radical Christian action. This was to take the form of a community centre, which would provide not only accommodation for a core 'community' but also provide opportunities for a range of linked activities. In order to raise funds for this, a benefit concert, was held on Jan 9th 1970, advertised as for both *Roadrunner* and the *London Free Church*, as the project was called:

"RR you know about. But the Free Church is new. We are going to beg, borrow or steal an empty church in central London as a base for the radical Christian movement. Initial uses will include space for experimental worship, plays, concerts and meetings; organising space; a crash-pad for the underground; a community press. The whole scene will be held together by six people living as a permanent commune in the church." [51]

Whilst the benefit concert did take place, featuring performances from *Medecine Head*, Alexis Korner, Steve Miller and P.P. Arnold, the attendance was disappointing, and the Free Church never actually found premises to set up the permanent commune and provide a base for the various activities. What is most fascinating about this idea, however, is that it so clearly represents the embryonic concept behind the establishment of the 'experiment in community' at *Wick Court*. It may have taken a few more years, and a different organisational structure, but there is no doubt that there are obvious connections between the Free Church and *Wick*. The combination of workshop space for creative activities, meetings, conferences and concerts - with a permanent resident community is clearly an idea that Viv had been playing with for some considerable time, and illustrates the fact that the struggle to articulate the emerging *structure of feeling* took place over several years. He also expressed this in an article written for *Roadrunner* in March 1970:

"What one has to do is create, perhaps in a small way, a community that breaks clear of the money wheel, that is truly revolutionary, that puts the first last and the last first...So it's all down to the revolutionary community. No police, courts or prisons. No law and order. No judgement, no revenge. Maybe that sounds like utopian anarchy, but utopian anarchy can really happen (if you want it)." [52]

In February 1970 *Roadrunner* reported the demise of the Bristol CHURCH group. This followed their inability to persuade any members of the 600 churches in the area to spend 24 foodless hours in protest against church wealth and indifference. The group felt the need for 'greater practicality' and as a result, most of the CHURCH people joined 3W1 (Third World First). Members of CHURCH also played an active role in the campaign for the 'Stop the 70 Tour' against the South African rugby team – the Springboks - and *Roadrunner* no. 23 carried a feature interview with Peter Hain, the main organiser of the committee. [53] But it was *Roadrunner* that had now become the main locus of activity, and there are no further references to CHURCH in any subsequent issues of *Roadrunner*. The only exception to this was the

CHURCH group formed in January 1970 in South West Africa (Namibia):

"We hear from Steve Hayes [an Anglican deacon who had letters published in the two previous issues of RR] in South West Africa that with Dave de Beer and others he has started a 'very informal anarchist group, with a minimum of structure, for prayer, discussion, study and action' and that he has named it after English CHURCH. Steve and friends in Windhoek are also getting together a commune dedicated somewhat provocatively to 'St. Simon the Zealot'."

Steve Hayes was also the editor and driving force behind a magazine called *IKON*, a sister a magazine to *Roadrunner*. Laurens Otter states that both the Christian Anarchists, which he was closely involved with, and CHURCH were in contact with the IKON group:

"CHURCH initially made the contact, but as the IKON group were all Anglo-Catholics, as were about half of the Christian Anarchists, they found our approach more congenial." [54]

The group based in South West Africa rapidly became a very different type of organisation – with several ordained ministers involved, it provided ministry to scattered congregations within a 150 mile radius of Windhoek, and operated along much more conventional lines, given a very different political context. No 'guerrilla' theatre, no dramatic protests, instead their focus was on holding services and building their own community structures. Whilst it shared the same name, in reality it had little beyond that with the motivations or actions of the original CHURCH.

SUMMARY

The influence of the *Yippies* and the *Situationist International* could be seen in the fact that any individual or group could use the name CHURCH in connection with any activity, and there was even headed paper available to publicise these events. This radically de-centred anti-organisational structure means that accurately tracing all the events that took place under the name CHURCH is extremely difficult,

since, in theory at least, anyone anywhere could claim to be CHURCH, without any need to consult a central organisation. That said, it would seem that in practice, apart from the CHURCH events with which Viv Broughton was centrally involved, only a handful of other actions took place under the umbrella heading of CHURCH, as Broughton himself agreed.

"Not many people took it up - a few did, maybe a dozen people round the country took it up, but you know, to be honest, all this was very young romantic stuff, it was the period, that period of time in '68 was when there was something in the water maybe [laughs], you thought that something really exceptional was going on in the world, you really did." [55]

So what set CHURCH apart from other radical Christian organisations active at the time, was not only its targets – which tended to be religious institutions – but crucially its methods. Almost without exception CHURCH actions were marked by a very strong theatrical sense, and involved the use of costumes, props, and music. The main point was to make as much impact as possible, which is where the theatricality was so important, and to use the media to maximise publicity. There were also many other involved with the 'counter-culture' during this period who made use of similar tactics. One example is an event which ran annually for four years at the University of Texas, organised by the local Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), called 'Gentle Thursday'. Arguing that this event was an enactment of 'revolutionary aspiration and an instance of countercultural creative play' [56], Glenn W. Jones described the various aspects of what took place:

"Bohemians, New Leftists and proto-counterculturalists sat on the grass, played music, played with balloons, drew with coloured chalk, and shared food and conversation...[staged as] a self-conscious act of resistance to mainstream society, opposition to the Vietnam War, and subversion of the codes of everyday life." [57]

The example of the Berkeley Free Church and its pastor the Reverend Dick York was also undoubtedly an influence on the style of the protests by CHURCH, though the two contexts were markedly different in other ways. [58] This approach, however, was not without its critics.

One of the most vocal of these was Ken Leech, who whilst he shared many of the groups' political concerns, had little sympathy with the distinctive ways in which they sought to express themselves. This led him to argue that:

"In Britain, no real Underground Church has emerged, though *The Catonsville Roadrunner* and 'Church' have been modelled very closely on the Berkeley model, even to the point of imitating the very language used. The weakness of this group, however, is that unlike Berkeley, it did not arise out of any real pastoral situation, and, because it is a second-hand movement with imported slogans and borrowed ideas, it does not really relate to anything, and may simply become yet another precious and introverted sect." [59]

Apart from the Bromley group, which was later to form the nucleus of the editorial committee of *Roadrunner*, there seems to have been only one other manifestation of CHURCH on anything like the same scale. This was co-ordinated in Clacton by Leonardo Brown, a student at St. Osyth's College of Education, who was also later to become an editor of *Roadrunner*. The Clacton CHURCH magazine appears to have been the only one to have been produced on a semi-regular basis, and at least four issues were published. [60]

The emphasis on autonomous activity by small un-coordinated groups of individuals whilst illustrative of the central principles of CHURCH, effectively undermined any hope of producing a national movement, yet that was one of the aims. As Viv Broughton put it:

"EP-D: So CHURCH and Roadrunner then was not so much about building a movement as about getting involved in the issues?

VB: No, it was about building a movement - definitely.

EP-D: What I'm trying to understand then, is how that movement was being built?

VB: Well, a movement in the sense that - this was what the whole idea of calling CHURCH was - that the church was Christians in action...or Christianity in action, and not about buildings or theologies and creeds and doctrines and hierarchies and all the rest of it. That's what people

think the church is, because that's what the church has built over the years, but actually that is heresy, and the church is really just Christians doing what they're supposed to do. Just getting on with it, without all of that stuff. So we were affirming that the church is this. The other stuff is really something tacked on to what the church is, and should be got rid of really." [61]

By rejecting central co-ordination, the activities of CHURCH remained fragmented and isolated. Whilst effective at a local level in gaining publicity, the actions were largely concerned with national and international issues, and in that respect important connections failed to be made between the various CHURCH groups in Bromley, Bristol or Clacton for example, and actions taking place elsewhere in the world. The strongest impression gained from an examination of these disparate actions is that the radical Christian *structure of feeling* was at a *pre-emergent* stage. It was during the next phase – the publication of *Roadrunner* – that the *structure of feeling* was to be more clearly articulated.

Footnotes to Chapter Four:

[1] Letter to author, 1992

[2] *Roadrunner* No. 2, May 1969

[3] Jenkins, D (1975) *The British: Their Identity and their Religion*, London: SCM Press Ltd., p.83/4

[4] Marwick, A (1998)) *The Sixties,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.65-66

[5] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994

[6] Interview with Jan Broughton, 1995

[7] Interview with John Careswell, 1995.
The early CHURCH mailing list included: Joan Baez; Jim Forrest; David and Valerie Hart; Trevor Huddleston; Colin Morris; Dave Mumford; Carl Pinel; Laurens Otter; Rev. Dick York.
(list from Viv Broughton's personal archive)

[8] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994

[9] CHURCH 'manifesto', 1967 – SCM archive.

[10] Viv Broughton's personal archive.

[11] *'BUZZ'* - May 1968 issue. See appendix three.

[12] See Kenneth Leech's comments below for an example of this criticism.

[13] Interview with John Careswell, 1995.

[14] It's likely that this was actually 'East-West Digest', and that the initial contact was with Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, at that time owner of *Foreign Affairs Publishing Co Ltd*, who published a variety of right-wing tracts including '*The Fradulent Gospel*', subtitled '*Politics and the World Council of Churches*' which accused the World Council of Churches of supporting communist-backed 'terrorist organisations' in Southern Africa.
Stewart-Smith also published the East-West Digest, a compilation of anti-communist articles, purporting to document the activities of 'the Russian world conspiracy' and to report on the actions of the radical left in Britain. East-West Digest was distributed free to all MP's, most peers and a number of journalists. Stewart-Smith had extensive contacts in South Africa and Rhodesia, and it has been suggested that his publishing activities, which were run from his home address in Richmond, were

partly supported by the South African government.
For further details see Knight, D (1982) *Beyond the Pale: The Christian Political Fringe*, London: CARAF publications,

[15] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994.

[16] Interview with Jan Broughton, 1995.

[17] Interview with Peter Lumsden, 1991

[18] Interview with John Careswell, 1995

[19] Mayakovsksy Square leaflet (Viv Broughton's personal archive)

[20] Interview with Jan Broughton, 1995

[21] ibid.

[22] There were articles in *The Daily Telegraph* (18/06/68); *The Daily Mirror* (18/06/68); *The Times* (18/06/68 & 19/06/68); and *The Sunday Times* (23/06/68). Broughton and Careswell also appeared on both BBC and ITN television news, and also on radio.

[23] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994

[24] *The Times (19/06/68)*

[25] For further details see: Gilbert, M (1999) *A History of the Twentieth Century – Volume Three: 1952-1999*, London: Harper Collins, pp.387-88

[26] Published in *Roadrunner* (issue 2 May 1969)

[27] Interview with Val Hart, 1995

[28] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994

[29] ibid.

[30] Interview with John Careswell, 1995

[31] Interview with David Hart, 1994

[32] David Hart letter to *Church Times* ' "Away with palaces" say the Christian Radicals' 23rd August 1968 quoted in Leech, K (1973a), p.178

[33] For more discussion of Broughton and Hart see the chapter on *Roadrunner.*

[34] Colin Morris quoted on the inside front cover of the updated CHURCH manifesto – 1968. SCM archive

[35] Daniel Cohn-Bendit quoted on the inside back cover of the updated CHURCH manifesto – 1968. SCM archive.

[36] SCM archive.

[37] Halloran, J.D, Elliott, P & Murdock, G (1970) *Demonstrations and Communications: A Case Study*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, p.36

[38] Interview with Val Hart, 1995

[39] Inglis, F (1995) p.208

[40] Report in *Roadrunner* No. 1 April 1969

[41] ibid.

[42] Interview with John Careswell, 1995

[43] Letter in *Roadrunner* August 1969.

[44] Letter in *Roadrunner* September 1969.

[45] Letter in *Roadrunner* October 1969.

[46] See the chapters on *Roadrunner* and *Wick* for further details.

[47] Letter in *New Christian* 16th October 1969, quoted in Leech, K (1973a), p.178/9

[48] *Roadrunner* November 1969

[49] ibid.

[50] *Roadrunner* November 1969

[51] *Roadrunner* December 1969

[52] *Roadrunner* March 1970

[53] *Roadunner* No23, pp.6-7

[54] Letter to author, 1992

[55] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994

[56] Jones, G W (1992) 'Gentle Thursday: An SDS Circus in Austin Texas, 1966-1969' in Tischler, B L (ed) (1992) *Sights on the Sixties* (New Brunswick, USA: Rutger University Press) p.77

[57] ibid. p.75

[58] See chapter on *Roadrunner* for a fuller discussion of the Berkeley Free Church.

[59] Leech,K (1973b) *Keep the Faith Baby,* London: SPCK, p.107

[60] *Roadrunner* June 1969 carried an advertisement for Issue No.4 of the Clacton CHURCH magazine

[61] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994

CHAPTER FIVE:

THE CATONSVILLE ROADRUNNER

THE CATONSVILLE ROADRUNNER

This chapter examines the second phase of the radical Christian activity under discussion, the publication of the magazine *The Catonsville Roadrunner.* Plans for the magazine were developed following the one-day CHURCH exchange meeting that took place in February 1969, and the magazine was produced over a six-year period – from April 1969 to December 1975. During this time editorship of the magazine passed through three distinct periods. It was initially produced by largely the same group of people, based in London, who had been involved with CHURCH, and appeared on a monthly basis for the first 31 issues (April 1969 – November 1971). Editorship then passed to a Manchester-based collective, who had formerly been a *Slant* readers group. During this time (February 1972 – October 1974) issues 32 – 55 of the magazine were produced. The third and final period of publication saw the magazine relocated to London again, where it ran from January to December 1975, and produced only a further 5 issues, numbers 56 – 60.

Roadrunner, as a magazine, shared many features with the underground press of the 60's, and was also part of extensive international distribution networks, at first COSMIC and later UPS, that included such titles as *Gandalf's Garden* (UK), *East Village Other* (USA), *The New Age Interpreter* (USA), *Hotcha!* (Switzerland), *Eco Contemporaneo* (Argentina), *Moksha* (Holland), and *IKON* (Windhoek, South West Africa - now Namibia). Stylistically the magazine depended heavily on cartoons and graphics, and certain issues included large (A2 sized) posters/wall-charts. Poetry was a regular feature, as were items drawn from OZ, *International Times* (IT), *Black Dwarf* and other underground papers & magazines.

It was during the first phase of publication that the most concerted and visible attempts were made to articulate the emerging radical Christian *structure of feeling*. The magazine acted as a vibrant and lively forum for the exchange of views, and as a focus for developing the work that CHURCH had begun. It produced a 'directory' of the *Liberated Church*,

and also established a network of 'runners' – regional contacts throughout the UK – who both distributed the magazine, and sought to act as links between the wider radical Christian community. During the period in the North-West *Roadrunner* developed close links with other Manchester-based publications including *Rochdale Alternative Paper (RAP)*, *Mole Express*, and *Manchester Free Press*, and became increasingly pre-occupied with specific local campaigns. This led it to depart from its initial focus as a radical Christian magazine, and instead to become involved with a range of different spiritual and religious movements.

Mary O'Mahony, one of the Manchester collective described the situation thus:

"*Roadrunner* served as a medium for putting forward what we thought. I suppose it was for Christians and for radicals, so the idea would be to help Christians become more radical and radicals become more Christian. But I would say through doing the paper and other political work we became more radical and dropped the Christian." [1]

The other activities that members of the collective became involved with included the local 'Free' school, a housing action group, the claimants union, and a radical bookshop. The shift in focus away from a radical Christian position occurred fairly early on during the Manchester phase. Just five issues after they had taken over the editorship, the collective produced a three-page justification for this, in response to a series of cancelled subscriptions and a welter of criticisms from readers that the magazine had lost its Christian 'content'. In this article they argued for a more 'human' approach, based on 'common sense', that rejects the 'traditional' position of radical Christian confrontation:

"The people producing this magazine are aiming at transforming the people caught up in the traditional approach into a more human approach...This is a purely secular approach in orthodox terms of how people in these situations can be more sensible and reasonable – can be more human in fact...We find no necessity for the justification of what we are saying in terms of the Scriptures. If people need to justify a human approach to situations let them turn to their authority." [2]

The result of this major shift in emphasis was that increasingly the magazine focused largely on specific secular debates, and produced a series of themed issues on topics including Welsh Nationalism (RR38), Technology (RR39), Ireland (RR44), A Guide to Food (RR48), Children's Books (RR50) and Ecology (RR52). The network of 'runners' was largely replaced with a list of contacts for secular organizations, such as the *Community Research and Action Group* (CRAG) and *Street Research Bulletin* – many of which were based in the Manchester area. At the same time articles appeared discussing a range of mystical and spiritual approaches, and the collective even published a booklet written by Swamy Balananda, titled *Past, Present, Inevitable Future of Mankind*. The advert for the booklet offered the view that:

"The traditional attitudes, behaviour and habits are based on the religious approach to God, man and the world. It is these that have dehumanized mankind, and religion itself is the obstacle to establishing a human society." [3]

The main consistent link between the original editorial group and the Manchester collective was Viv Broughton, who continued to contribute humourous snippets of news and information which appeared in the column 'Tiny Mines'. There were also some occasional articles on religious figures, such as Teilhard de Chardin, and some coverage of the church in Latin America, and South Africa. But the radical Christian character of the magazine had been largely discarded, and cannot be seen to have any direct relevance for the continuing emergence of the *structure of feeling* that is being traced in this thesis.

In 1975, with publication becoming more and more infrequent, and having forsaken its original community of readers, editorship of the magazine moved down to London again for the final five issues, where an attempt was made to re-energize the radical Christian commitment. During this period it was – ironically – based in the parish of one of its sternest former critics, Rev. Kenneth Leech, at Bethnal Green. The last couple of issues contain pleas for more contributors and for a new team of editors to take over, but with dwindling support, the total collapse of

the network of 'runners', and an almost complete lack of funding, the magazine published its sixtieth, and last issue in December 1975.

In this chapter, therefore, the main focus is on the first period of publication, (issues 1 – 31) since it is during this time that the most explicit attempts were being made to find expression for the emerging *structure of feeling*. Space does not permit a full detailed analysis of each and every issue of the magazine, and instead here the emphasis will be placed on tracing the varied attempts to give expression to a series of linked debates centring around three distinct themes, these are: 'theology', 'community' and '*praxis*' – that is the synthesis of theory and practice, as related, in particular, to political activity.

These have been selected because they offer the clearest examples of the ongoing struggles the Christian radicals were engaged in to articulate their emerging *structure of feeling*. It should be made clear from the outset that none of these three themes produces a single coherent position or policy statement that could be said to apply to all of those involved, and that rather it is the case that there were a series of debates and disagreements. It is, however, in the process of these debates that it is possible to discern certain key elements which contribute towards the emerging *structure of feeling*.

In relation to 'theology' it will be shown that despite the availability of a range of theological debates which could be said to have provided important underpinning to much of their practical activities, for the most part the theology of the group remained 'conservative', or at least implicit, and didn't connect to the radical theology as espoused, for example, by the Death of God writers. There were exceptions to this, and attempts to engage in theological debate did feature in the pages of the magazine, but these remained the preserve of a small group of individuals, and there is little evidence that they had any lasting impact. This is important since it will be argued that the lack of a coherent

theological position was one of the reasons for the eventual demise of this brief flowering of radical Christianity.

The term 'community' is probably the most used in the magazine, and it will be shown how a series of debates on this issue encompassed a range of definitions and models. Linked to the concept of 'community' is the notion of the 'church', and this will inevitably involve an examination of the extent to which the institutional church could provide an adequate model of community, and the attempts of the radical Christians to create alternatives to the established structures, including their own experiences of communal living.

The third theme – *praxis* – will involve an assessment of the wide-ranging debates that concern how to link their radical Christian positions, with appropriate forms of action. Put simply, this might be expressed as "What should radical Christians do?". There was a continual tension between those who felt that the best way to express their Christianity was by engaging fully in secular struggles around specific political issues, such as the Vietnam War, poverty, homelessness, and the oppressiveness of capitalist institutions (including the institution of the church), and those who sought to build linked but separate campaigns, which were identifiably 'Christian'.

This separation into three themes is an analytical device only, and, as will be shown, there was often a good deal of overlap in the debates, so that, for example, discussion about theology also related to community, and the notion of *praxis*. Nonetheless, by focussing on specific debates it will allow the analysis to offer an overview, and to lend credence to the argument that *Roadrunner* was more than just a magazine, but was an attempt to provide a focus for a distinctive form of radical Christianity. It served a number of functions – as a notice board to the wider radical Christian community; as forum for debate and discussion; and as a link between radical Christians across the UK.

'FIERCE DANCING'

"The Catonsville Roadrunner is about love, about Jesus, about liberation, about justice, for real. Not mouthwash this time, no nice words, no dead heroes, we're moving in to light fires and celebrate life, NOW." [4]

Launched in April 1969, *The Catonsville Roadrunner* took its name from the action of a group of radical Catholics in America who had been put on trial for entering the Selective Service Office in Catonsville, Maryland, and burning 600 draft card files with home-made Napalm, from a recipe they had found in the Special Services Handbook. A full spread in the centre pages of the first issue contain an account of the trial of the 'Catonsville Nine', and a copy of the statement made by the 'Nine' on May 17th 1968, prior to carrying out the act of 'holy disobedience'. This was central to the motivations of the *Roadrunner*.

"We believe some property has no right to exist. Hitler's gas ovens, Stalin's concentration camps, atomic, bacteriological, and chemical weaponry, files of conscription, and slum properties are examples having no right to existence. While people starve for bread and lack decent housing, the rich debase themselves with comfort paid for by the misery of the poor. We are Catholic Christians who take the Gospel of our Faith seriously. We confront the Catholic Church, other Christian bodies, and the synagogues of America with their silence and cowardice in face of our country's crimes. We are convinced that the religious bureaucracy in this country is racist, is an accomplice in war, and is hostile to the poor. In utter fidelity to our Faith, we indict the religious leaders and their followers for their failure to serve our country and mankind. We have pleaded, spoken, marched, and nursed the victims of our country's injustice. Now this injustice must be faced - and this we intend to do, with whatever strength of mind, body, and grace that God will give us. May God have mercy on our nation!" [5]

The statement bears the names of the Nine - David Darst, (Christian brother and high school teacher), John Hogan, (Maryknoll Brother expelled from Guatemala for sympathy with the guerilla movement), Tom Lewis, (founder of the Baltimore Interfaith Mission), Marjorie Melville, (fomer Maryknoll nun, also expelled from Guatemala for involvement in the internal politics of that country), Daniel Berrigan, (priest and poet), Tom Melville, (husband of Marjorie, also expelled from Guatemala for political activities), Philip Berrigan, (brother of Dan, also a priest and co-

founder of the Catholic Peace Fellowship), George Mische, (Army veteran), and Mary Moylan, (a registered nurse-midwife in Baltimore, who had previously worked in Uganda).

It is worth noting that in their short statement, the term 'our country' appears four times, 'America' once, and 'our nation' once as well. Sensitive to the accusations of the right-wing critics in America, that the Civil Rights Movement and the anti-Vietnam war campaigners were inherently anti-American, and unpatriotic, considerable effort was put into stressing the essentially patriotic nature of the Catonsville Nine's endeavours. This is an aspect that was not replicated in Britain, where already there was considerable suspicion towards nationalism and its proponents, particularly in the wake of the notorious 'rivers of blood' speech given by Enoch Powell on April 20th 1968. [6] In a British context appeals to patriotism on the part of the Left were extremely unusual, the more so given the international dimensions of the struggles that dominated political and social action at the time. In America, however, this was deemed a worthwhile, even a necessary tactic.

The Catonsville Nine became something of a *cause celebre* amongst the liberal intelligentsia in the United States, and numbered amongst their supporters such luminaries as Bishop Pike, Dorothy Day (of *Catholic Worker* fame), Noam Chomsky and I. F. Stone. During the trial which took place during the first week of October 1968, there was a series of linked demonstrations outside the courtroom, some attracting as many as 3,000 supporters. All nine defendants were found guilty as charged, which prompted Art Melville, the brother and brother-in-law of two of the accused to shout out in court "Ladies and Gentleman of the jury, you have just convicted Jesus Christ". The judge, however, saw it differently and sentenced them all to serve six years in prison. Released on bail initially, five of the defendants – including both Berrigan brothers [7] - refused to turn themselves in and went 'underground'. [8]

Under the heading: 'Omega. It is ended. Alpha. It is beginning.' *Roadrunner* added the following comment:

"They were given six years gaol. Britain too is involved in mass-murder - in Biafra. Britian too has files & equipment with no right to exist. May God give us the courage to run our own road to Catonsville." [9]

The editors of the early editions of *Roadrunner* shared little in common with the 'Catonsville Nine'. None of them were Catholics, apart from Peter Lumsden, although he had by this time, ceased to practice, and had become a 'Christian Atheist'. None of them came from the same backgrounds - most of the Nine had been involved in missionary work in places such as Guatemala, or Uganda. Yet they were deeply moved and inspired by the direct action, and saw in this a model for their own praxis in a British context. They too sought to combine a radical critique of existing social and political issues, with an equally damning indictment of the institutions of the Church. As Ken Leech put it at the time: "The new radical church stands as a protest against ecclesiastical as well as political corruption." [10]

The tension between these two elements was to become the cause of considerable argument and debate in the pages of the magazine. There were those who felt that a radical Christian magazine/movement should concentrate on what it knew best - namely Christianity. Others rejected any such narrow focus, and insisted on the need to be at the forefront of social and political struggles. In many ways this tension remained unresolved, and helped to give *Roadrunner* its lively and energetic character. It was nothing if not self-reflexive, although this too was picked up on by some, who grew impatient with the constant in-fighting, and argued for a more concertedly activist approach.

The three central themes of theology, community and praxis were brought together in the very first editorial which was written by John Careswell, one of the 'Moscow Three'. This editorial also reflects the comments made at the 'One-Day CHURCH Exchange' held in February

1969, which rejected a 'long-term manifesto'. Titled "Prison... or Citadel? Change Yourself", it addressed the betrayal of Christ by modern society (theology); the failure of the Church to offer a 'living inheritance for us today' (community); and the need for a programme of 'self realisation' (praxis).

The editorial starts with a bold proclamation:

"The glorious task of the Christian as social visionary demands that he [sic] judge modern society in the light of Christ's life. Given the set of criteria which the New Testament provides for the social relationships which ought to obtain in the world, we have reason enough to discard the status-quo as incompatible with His Kingdom and irrelevant to our visionary purpose...Man is treated as a unit of production and a source of material desires, consequently conceiving of his own worth only in terms of the role it can play in the consumer orientated economy... The notion of the Whole Man has been destroyed. Christ is betrayed again." [11]

This critique of consumerism may not have been entirely original, nor was it unusual to find it expressed in explicitly Christian terms, yet the total rejection of the status-quo, and the emphasis placed on a holistic approach, would have been unsettling to many church Christians at the time. The theme is further developed in the next section:

"And the Church? If society is sick, then an organised religion which is part of that society is sick too. A barrier is erected between the people and their Kingdom, through concern with legalism, institutions, and the mechanics of the State; plus the dead hand of a liturgy which proclaims life everlasting in the world to come, but rejects the practical implications of that Good News here on earth ...The vital task for us is to dig deep down and find the real Jesus. There can be no short cut to reality by trying to change the structures of the Church. Ideas of wealth and authority must be disposed of. People alone matter, we must break new ground. . . Our first task must be to resurrect the lifeless corpse of the church community. A re-vitalised church, determined to take Jesus seriously, would once again exert its influence on the world of ad-men and con-saviours."

What is significant here are the comments on the liturgy, which was to become a particular focus for *Roadrunner* in later issues; the quest for the 'real' Jesus - i.e. the anti-authoritarian activist, rather than the benign suffering Christ; and the anti-reformist line being adopted in relation to

the institution of the Church. On an axis of reform>>>>revolution, there is little doubt where *Roadrunner's* sympathies lie at this stage.

The final section offers a practical response to the problems that have been outlined:

"We offer liberation: a programme for self-realisation. Each of us will have our own glorious way of proclaiming our own freedom and consequent loss of faith in all that is unfree. We must pierce the illusions of falsehood and violence foisted on us by politicians and other little men, we must cut through the fog to ultimate reality.... So we start working for the Kingdom here and now - why kid ourselves we'll find it anywhere else, and why wait for it any longer?".

What is striking about this passage is the unequivocal stress placed on individual action. The call is for 'self-realisation' not collective action *per se*. Here it is possible to detect a Christian Anarchist influence, which valued personal integrity and individual responsibility above systematic programmes involving mass action. This anarchic individualism is in stark contrast to the pronouncements of some other 'underground' magazines at the time, such as *Black Dwarf* and *Red Mole*, but it does have echoes of the hippy libertarianism found in the pages of OZ.

THEOLOGY

"In order to understand the emergence of the Underground Church, it is important to be familiar with the theological movements influencing radical Christians. One needs to see such writers as Harvey Cox...and the 'death of God' theologians as essential elements in the background thought which led to the new radicalism. But it is the idea of the 'radical Jesus' which has been the central idea in the liberated churches." [12]

The early issues of *Roadrunner* actually have very little in the way of explicit theological argument in them. What they do offer, however, is a specific version of the 'radical Christ'. An example of this can be seen in a mock advert that appeared in RR2, under the heading "Reward! For the betrayal of Jesus Christ", it reads as follows:

"Wanted: for Sedition, Criminal Anarchy, Contempt of Court, Vagrancy, and Conspiracy to Overthrow the Established Government by the Revolutionary use of Love.
Dresses poorly. Said to be a carpenter by trade. Ill-nourished. Has visionary ideas of establishing an anarchist society. Associates with

common working-people, the unemployed and bums. Has been seen in groups of mixed race. Marks on hands and feet as the result of injuries inflicted by an angry mob led by bankers, generals, responsible citizens and legal authorities." [13]

This version of the figure of Christ was overwhelmingly the most popular in the pages of the magazine. It is a radical activist Christ, who throws the money-changers out of the temple, associates with tax gatherers, simple fishermen, and prostitutes, and directly challenges the authority of both Church and State.

The emphasis on Christ the Liberator also helped bridge the gap between *Roadrunner* and other non-Christian 'underground' magazines at the time, as a review from the fledging *Time Out* magazine demonstrates:

"There seems to be more revolutionary action amongst priests and lay Christians going on in this and other countries than one had ever imagined. Whether you think that Jesus was one of the good guys of history, or that he was God, the sentiments expressed by *Roadrunner* seem a lot closer to his/His ideas than most Christian literature." [14]

In the editorial in RR3, there was an attempt to define the common principles that united the editorial team:

"If there are any principles that are common to us all in the editorial group, one of the strongest is that violence begets violence. We're trying to say this and to say that love is everything; we are very conscious of our own failings and our own inner hates but we intend to do our best. Doing our best to be Christians in this world means following Christ to the exclusion of all else. The implications of this are enormous." [15]

It can be seen that theologically there is very little here that evangelicals involved with the *Jesus Movement* would find to disagree with – the emphasis on following Christ "to the exclusion of all else", is certainly a potentially 'conservative' position. Yet, the implications, and the ways in which it was to be interpreted, led to very different forms of action.

Also in the same issue there is a centre-page spread on the Berkeley Free Church, which included extracts from the 'Freedom Meal', which was a eucharist developed by Rev. Dick York, and often used by the

British radical Christians in their own services. The Litany of Intercession is of particular interest:

"For the reconciliation of mankind through the revolution of non-violent love,
WE CALL ON THE SPIRIT.
For the established churches, that they may be humbled, reformed and united.
WE CALL ON THE SPIRIT.
For the global movement of peace and liberation, the church of Jesus incognito.
WE CALL ON THE SPIRIT.
For the victims of discrimination, harassment and brutality.
WE CALL ON THE SPIRIT.
For all the oppressors, exploiters and imperialists, that they may be confused and disarmed by love.
WE CALL ON THE SPIRIT.
For the uptight authorities, police and officials, especially *N.* and *N.*, that they may listen to the voice of the humble and weak.
WE CALL ON THE SPIRIT.
For organizers, students and writers, all who raise the cry of justice.
WE CALL ON THE SPIRIT.
That all couples may realize their union with the universal flow of love.
WE CALL ON THE SPIRIT.
That our grandchildren may inherit a restored planet.
WE CALL ON THE SPIRIT.
That we may desire to study the ancient books of wisdom.
WE CALL ON THE SPIRIT.
That people's revolution everywhere may become humanized and democratic.
WE CALL ON THE SPIRIT.

Go in peace and love.
Serve God with joy.
Keep the faith baby.
You are the liberated zone." [16]

Here in its clearest form is the combination of the language of the counter-culture, with a theology of peace and love, which also owes much to the prevailing hippy culture. Debates about the appropriate use of language and imagery were to occur throughout the history of the magazine, but in this instance the juxtaposition of secular style and liturgical form, appear to have raised no adverse criticisms. In other contexts, however, this combination provoked considerable displeasure. In RR4, Stephen Hayes reports how he had been sacked from his post

as assistant chaplain at the Mission to Seamen in Durban for holding a 'psychedelic' service:

"We had a litany, with slides showing different light sources projected onto the sanctuary wall...the whole congregation holding lighted sparklers and tapers. We then sang *Lord of the Dance* and danced round the church. We sang it seven times, and the last time everyone danced out of the door and into the street." [17]

What is striking about this description is how commonplace the service would appear to many Christians thirty years later, notably those from the evangelical wing of the church, where the use of light shows, candles and dancing are routine. Yet it was clearly too much for the Bishop of Durban at the time, who asked for Hayes' resignation. This is an example of how an emergent *structure of feeling* can successfully make the transition to become a dominant mode, albeit shorn of its original celebratory, innovative, or critical impulses. Changes in convention wrought through a process of struggle, can become, over time, (literally) conventional.

The front cover of RR4 was to become the most famous of all the *Roadrunner* covers - "We shall celebrate with such fierce dancing the Death of your institutions" - and was later produced as a poster. Designed by Dave Warren, the 'lay-out man' for *International Times*, it reinforced the theme of celebratory dancing as a weapon against prevailing authority, and offered a clear parallel with the language of the *Catholic Crusade*. [18]

The figure of the radical Christ re-emerged forcefully in RR7, in an extract from a sermon given by Dick York on a recent visit to London, where he had met up with the editors of *Roadrunner*. The sermon described at some length the evolution of the Berkeley Free Church, from a sort of drop-in center for 'drop-outs', sponsored as a form of 'service ministry' by some local churches in Berkeley, to a more radical initiative which was fully immersed in a series of campaigns against the Vietnam war and racism, and in struggles about the use of the City Park (re-named the 'People's Park'). York explained:

"We said, "How can we do the service thing properly without also being the marching, militant group for opposition to the war and racism, and so on?" And the Churches said: "That is not what we intended you to do at all", and we said: "Too bad." And in fact the churches are still freaking and naturally we have lost most of the money they were supporting us with but they are still caught. They're up against the wall, Mother Church." [19]

The struggles over the 'People's Park', which the City Authorities wanted to use to build student housing, had led to a series of increasingly violent demonstrations, where police initially used tear gas, and then began shooting at the demonstrators. One man, James Rector, was killed, and many others were wounded. The Free Church was active throughout this campaign, and helped to treat several of the wounded.

York then went on to explain the theological thinking underlying their radical stance:

"We've come to the conclusion that Jesus wasn't in that establishment non-violent bag. He ran around with violent revolutionaries and that in fact the apostles were "Vietcong". They were proletarian revolutionaries in occupied territory. The whole Messianic hope was a revolutionary hope – a hope for the Che Guevara of Jerusalem to come sweeping in and lead the Revolution, to set up the Kingdom of God as the Society after the Revolution...If Jesus got busted and executed for anything it was because people thought he was leading to some kind of violent revolution. That is why the Free Church has been tear gassed." [20]

This debate around the theological justification for the use of violence was to recur, but central to it at this stage of its development was the 'living' figure of Jesus Christ. Explicitly rejecting the radical theology of the Death of God movement, a poem later in the same issue made this clear:

"God is not dead
God is bread
The bread is rising
Bread means revolution
God means revolution
Murder is no revolution
Revolution is love
The radical Jesus is winning
The whole world is coming to a beginning
The whole world is watching
Wash off your brother's blood

Burn out the mark of the Beast
Join the freedom meal
Plant the peace garden
The asphalt church is marching
The guerilla church is recruiting
The people's church is striking
The submarine church is surfacing
The war is over
The war is over
The war is over
The Liberated Zone is at hand." [21]

Beyond this fascination with the radical Jesus, however, structured theological debate or argument was largely absent. David Hart provided an attempt to engage with some theological issues in RR9, where he produced a montage of drawings, images, quotations from others, and questions of his own. [22] These included: "To be a disciple of Jesus is it necessary to fight the church?" and "Is a society possible where no-one exploits anyone else, where people are at peace with eachother, or is this just a more subtle game of tease which Jesus played and which some of us continue to play?" Interestingly Hart wrote an article in the penultimate issue of *Roadrunner* (RR59) where he reflected on his efforts during these earlier issues of the magazine. His overwhelming impression, in hindsight, was one of "considerable sadness and uncertainty", and that although there were "the germs of a few ideas worth watering...in general I was making neither a joyful nor a useful noise". [23]

This was the view expressed by Ken Leech at the time, when he criticized what he saw as the lack of commitment and apparent triviality evident in *Roadrunner*:

"When *Roadrunner* first appeared I described it as "precious, middle-class, and an attempt to create an ecclesiastical *OZ*". I hoped it would improve, but it gets worse, sicker, sillier, more precious and more immature. The fact that it has now become "Jesus Monthly Show" instead of "Revolutionary Christian Monthly" perhaps gives the clue. For it does seem to me that the whole thing is a show, a little religious game for the in-group, but wholly unrelated to what is going on in the world...The authentic Christian revolutionary tradition has been concerned with the transformation of church and world. *Roadrunner*, on

the other hand, manifests the typical sectarian mentality. It has created its own religious world cut off from the mainstream of church and world." [24]

The first explicit discussion of radical theology was to occur in the next issue, whether in response to Leech's criticisms or not, is not clear. It appeared in an editorial written by Peter Lumsden, and in terms that would have been familiar to Altizer and Hamilton, argues for a total commitment to the Incarnation as an atheist position:

" 'To you I give the keys of the Kingdom, to build or destroy, to bind or loose.' These words must govern our motivations; for too long we have assumed the Kingdom is God's task, not ours. This entails a profound atheism, which comes from an understanding of the incarnation as total; God so coupled himself with mankind that he is only to be found within mankind, within history, or otherwise totally absent to man...therefore, it is only through the hopeless of this world, the incorrigible, the unregenerate, the mad, the bums, the drunks, that our salvation comes. When their cold despair enters our hearts we will really strike out at the world!" [25]

Lumsden later developed his views in a privately published pamphlet, where he argued that symbolism and ritual are central components of any human society, and that Christianity is a 'necessary' illusion. This is not the same, however, as a belief in God:

"If the purpose of Jesus's life is the salvation of humanity, and salvation as defined by humanity is a fully human society, then we can say that Jesus has given himself totally to us to be used and interpreted in any way we see fit...Hence I say we must have faith in Jesus, not in God, for it is by Jesus's power, which is a human power, that the Kingdom will come." [26]

This unambiguous support for a Christian atheist position is, however, noticeable for its rarity; indeed the following half dozen issues contain no real theological debate whatsoever. This prompted reader Michael Cahill to complain in RR17: "Please can we have more theory in RR", and Michael Ogg also wrote to point out: "It seems to me that Christianity is taken as axiom in RR, without its questioning." [27] Bishop John Robinson also had a letter published in the same issue:

"I always thought the Book of Revelation was the product of the underground church, and your productions are a fascinating counterpart. I shall produce them when I next lecture on the Apocalypse!"

An article by Alec Lea in RR21 returned to the theme, arguing that humanity has an innate need for the 'creative loving energy' that 'God' represents, but that this is not the 'God' of organized religion:

"God as a person ceased to be credible a long time ago. God as a thing, an 'it', a spirit, an energy, does not as yet in the western world have any organized body of people to support and explain it and give instruction on how to make contact with it. Therefore, not only Christianity is dying, but religion itself...Do we need a new religion? Of course, but a radically new form of Christianity may be indispensable while we are waiting for one." [28]

This 'godless' Christianity is therefore atheistic, but can still make use of the Jesus, the human figure, as a radical exemplar since "it was Jesus who first freed mankind from belief in a personal god." The parallels with the thought of Altizer and Hamilton are immediate, especially the theme of 'waiting'. In the following issue lengthy letters from two readers responded to Alec Lea's article, both calling for a much more systematic examination of the theology underlying *Roadrunner*. John Boyd felt that: "There is no *Roadrunner* movement, because there is no deep, basic impulse to provide motion. It is all rather like any other lefty mag with the occasional spiritual bit thrown in." [29]

Whilst Roy Clements argued that:

"Reasoned theology doesn't seem to play an important part in RR...I was pleased to see that Alec Lea was tackling 'God', but it was a very short article and could only offer a mildly interesting bone to chew on." [30]

Both correspondents, however, whilst arguing for more theological debate in the magazine, are critical of the atheist position expressed by Lumsden and Lea, and Clements urged support for "those who are afraid of losing the transcendental aspect of God's nature." A letter in the next issue also urged "more vigorous theological debate" [31] and these various calls culminated in an exchange between Geof Bevan and Viv Broughton in RR 24 and RR25.

Bevan argued that theology is simply the use of religion to justify a position held on other grounds, and as such is an inextricable aspect of the power of institutions.

"The point being that if theology is still possible at all, if there is still such a thing as theology, it is that which threatens your security, which throws every position, including the revolutionary one, into insecurity." [32]

Thus the only real theology is one that "changes the way you live, not what you believe" but that any form of action runs the risk of simply reproducing the inequalities of power that already exist. Broughton's response to this was to criticize Bevan for "sitting on the edge of a war, proclaiming the failure of every single creative act because it contains within itself the possibility of Babylon." He recognized the risks facing those involved in attempting to articulate new synthesis of radicalism and Christianity:

"For the radical church in particular there is the supreme problem of finding a way of liberation from old hypocracies that does not involve initiation into new." [33]

He continued by offering an example of the dilemma facing them in their efforts to find meaningful expression for their theology, by referring to one of CHURCH's actions:

"We are a movement that was, in part, born out of contempt for the petty-mouthings of the Church, reserving a special disgust for the hired guns of Christendom...When we occupied the U.S. Naval Chapel, the Sunday morning service was cancelled because neither the church nor the police could figure a way to cope with militant non-violence. Nevertheless a few of the faithful came anyway, prayed hard for fifteen minutes and stony-faced, stomped out. Except one middle-aged woman who came over to us and hissed "May God have mercy on you for you know not what you do". Bloody hell, they'd been praying about us---they'd turned the weapon round and zapped us with 180mm intercession. How many times had we gentle peace freaks and radical churchers done just that and turned the pious rhetoric of God on our enemies? Wouldn't it be infinitely more honest to say what we really thought---mother-fucking pigs?" [34]

Yet, Broughton argued, whilst this might have been more honest, it only ends up being a prayer for the 'subjugation of its object', and does fall into the trap that Bevan was describing. Instead the solution is to allow the Holy Spirit to do its work "stirring the shit" and making possible the changes that need to take place. Thus the fragmented and often implicit theology of *Roadrunner* can only find expression through the

action that the radical Christians engage in, and not through theological debate itself, which is seen as too often sterile and disconnected. This emerges in a final paragraph which is a re-focusing of the issues first raised in the early CHURCH manifestos, and clearly combines the themes of theology, community, and praxis under discussion here:

"It is for this reason that Roadrunner agitates for the radical church, in as far as it exists, to become increasingly immersed in the struggle for economic, political, cultural and sexual liberation. Not because our roots in the spiritual liberation demand it, but because there can be no real spiritual freedom that does not involve a movement of liberation in all other directions. We insist that this is a collective movement tending toward the establishment of communes, cells, street associations, house churches, small action groups, workshops---each autonomous as the individuals within them, each free in God as God is free in us, all bound together as we are bound to all the people. It is a holding operation as a free choice, its internal impetus tends irresistibly toward the decimation and elimination of power structures...
A power structure, any power structure, is an explicit obstacle for any movement of people seeking to liberate themselves. These are the sides, this is the conflict, this is real, this is the situation to which Jesus spoke and in which he took direct action and was killed." [35]

Reflecting on these debates during interview, Broughton offered his view of the theology underpinning CHURCH and *Roadrunner*:

"I mean I certainly believe that God is revealed in the life and death of Jesus Christ, and that was very central I think to *Roadrunner* - which if you like, is a very traditional thing to believe. So although CHURCH and *Roadrunner* might appear to be incredibly right at the other end of the spectrum, almost off the planet in terms of what they had to do with the church - the traditional church - in fact it came back to a very basic, I suppose quite traditional view of Christianity. We believed in God as revealed through the life and death of Jesus Christ. But we just felt that all of that had been corrupted into something unrecognisable, and that's what was being rejected." [36]

Steve Cooper, writing in RR25 argued that: "If people could be turned on to a radical theology there would be no need to seize the Kingdom. It would be ours already." [37] Tucked away on the inside back page there appeared a small ad for a group with just that intention: "KENOSIS, a radical theology group, says that Christianity has no other function than to build Heaven on earth, starting now. It is Christian Atheism." [38] This led to the publication in RR28 of statements from 'Kenosis':

"God no longer exists because he died on the cross...God is only manifested in the goodness of human action. This is best realized by understanding Jesus as a total (and not a partial) incarnation of God, as understanding the death of Christ as the death of God and as seeing that the full meaning of Resurrection is to be found in Pentacost [sic], the Church being the resurrected body of Christ." [39]

What this does identify is a precise time of death – the crucifixion – which is something that Altizer and Hamilton seemed unwilling to do, yet these views on the total incarnation were not widely adopted amongst the radical Christians, who tended to have, as Broughton pointed out, a much more conventional, even traditional view of Christ. It turns out that 'Kenosis' was never more than a title for Lumsden's own particular interests as he revealed:

Peter Lumsden: Well...Roadrunner was pretty light on theology. The last couple of issues [published by the London group] did run a couple of articles from me. But I was very much influenced by Altizer, and the Death of God school and, you know, rushed in and said - 'Here chaps, this is the next way forward', and they said 'Ooh, I don't know about that', you know..[laughs]. There it all stopped, and I went off on my own and, tried to set up this 'Kenosis' you see, and I would go round and leaflet churches and so forth, and I spoke in Hyde Park for a short while. But got nowhere. Nobody was interested really.

EP-D: Did Kenosis ever meet?

PL: No, no. [laughs] Never got beyond me. [laughs] They couldn't see this as progressive at all. And I had an awful feeling of sort of having missed the boat, that if I'd come to this insight a bit earlier, before all that wonderful enthusiasm of the sixties had disappeared, then we could have made a great deal more progress. I remember kicking myself at not really understanding these people, when I first heard about them you know. But there it was, you know - we missed the boat [laughs]. And the whole scene just disappeared and folded." [40]

During the final phase of publication, in May 1975, RR57 carried an interview with David Hart and Viv Broughton about how *Roadrunner* first started. David Hart explained his view of the theological debates during the early years:

"That was the time of the Death of God theology that seemed to be connected with authority. God was seen as an authority figure, the oppressor, he was identified with the oppressive society and repressive institutions. And it was connected with the barrenness of things, this kind of relationship with this kind of God meant this kind of worship and sterile

life, sterile relationships and communities, and that had to be questioned." [41]

So, whilst it certainly cannot be claimed that *Roadrunner* had anything approaching a coherent theological position, it did attempt, at times, to engage in debates about theology and to make use of the radical theologies that were available during the period. Of more interest was the central figure of the radical Christ, as the militant fighter against institutional power and established authority. Also of central concern were the other two themes under examination here, community and praxis, and the following two sections will look at how these were expressed in *Roadrunner*.

COMMUNITY

As argued earlier, to understand the meaning of community for the radicals it is important to see how the term links to the concept of the church. That is not to say that community could only be expressed in terms of the church, but that the shape and function of the church formed a central plank of their discussions of community. At the same time, the radicals were engaged in a number of specific campaigns around housing – involved in not only helping to set up squats for use by homeless families, but also in establishing communal living arrangements for themselves. This section will then examine the development of the debates about community as a concept in the pages of *Roadrunner*.

The editorial group themselves were a very tight-knit group, and worked hard to develop models of working and living together that did not replicate mainstream values, over issues such as, for example, sexual divisions of labour. This was especially noticeable in the early days of the magazine, as Val Hart remembered:

Val Hart: "There was a considerable feeling of equality in the group, in that we all were supposed to be having a turn at doing everything. We did too - we all did pasting up, and letrasetting, and discussed the

articles. Indeed there were very abusive discussions about some of the articles. But I don't think, even now, that the women in the group were particularly regarded with any less esteem than the men, except insofar as what they were willing to offer. I mean I didn't feel as though I was being put down. I mean some members of the group were certainly put down, but they weren't necessarily women. [laughs] Do you know what I mean?

EP-D: Yes, I do [laughs]. It's interesting because in that editorial you wrote..there's one bit where you say: 'We are ten. Ten editors at the moment. We find the production both painful and joyful' and so on. When I first saw that issue when I was going through them, I was really drawn to that section where you talk about the difficulties of holding that group together, the fact that there was a whole process of being together, and squabbling, and sharing.

V: That is how I remember it, very much so, yes.

E: Did you see eachother, as a group, fairly regularly?

V: Oh yes. Yes, we did see ourselves as a group, and we did see eachother all the time a lot. And of course, there were some people more central to the group than others, but nevertheless, there was a very strong feeling of group identity." [42]

The earliest issues of the magazine carried several sympathetic articles about the squatting campaigns then taking place in places such as Redbridge (RR3) and Ilford (RR5), and in RR8 there was a feature article on 'Hippydilly', the squat at 144 Piccadilly, London. This explicitly connected the attempts by the Hippies to create an alternative 'lifestyle' with the failure of the established churches to provide appropriate support:

"There was a great deal of condemnation of the hippies, but who is more to blame? Those who took over an empty building...who happen to reject certain of society's conventions; or a society which allows racketeers to build huge office blocks and keep them empty? Those people who because of an alien culture are forced to withdraw from society; or a society in which welfare workers, psychiatrists, and the majority of teachers are content to brainwash young people into certain standards of thought and behaviour? Those people who are searching for a faith which has never been offered to them in terms which are real; or a church which is one of the richest landlords in the country, which sells cheap and gaudy trinkets in St. Paul's Cathedral, which refuses to be the instigator of a possible experiment in communal living, but uses the full force of the law to drive out people?" [43]

The focus on the wealth of the church is a continuation of one of the themes that CHURCH had articulated, and later resulted in *Roadrunner* devoting two issues of the magazine to the theme of the Church Commissioners and their secretive activities as guardians of the finances of the Church of England. [44]

The question of whether radical Christians should themselves be members of a specific local church was one that occupied many readers. The editorial group had largely abandoned church going (except to protest!), but it is also apparent that many of their readers remained committed to remaining 'inside the system' and seeking to bring about changes from within. One reader summarized the situation:

"The chief problem for many 1970's Christians is whether to stick it in the organized Church or not...I suppose the ultimate answer to this question must come from your own decision on whether or not the established church ought to survive. The trouble is, if you leave and go do your Christian things elsewhere, you'll find it's just as frustrating, because on the whole the Church is a pretty fair reflection of the rest of the world." [45]

Without a church base to provide a framework for worship, the radical Christians took to having informal services, where they might occasionally have an unceremonious Eucharist, or more often simply use poetry or their own impromptu statements to provide a structure. Sometimes they made use of liturgies written by the Berkeley Free Church, though there was no consistent pattern to any of these meetings. An article in RR15, by Jonathan Carpenter, developed the theme of church/community further, and explicitly linked it to the vexed question of 'worship':

" 'Church' is the Christian word for community – or should be. Yet 'being at Church' is synonymous with 'being at worship'. The concept of 'church' no longer has much content...If Christians spent less time worrying about comprehensive Sunday worship and more time on their community activity in the rest of the week, worship would begin to take care of itself – and as likely as not it would not take place on Sunday, or in a church." [46]

This is a clear call for commitment to 'community' as itself a form of worship, though this is hardly a novel or even especially radical view, since many others might also have shared similar sentiments. Carpenter went on, however, to claim that only by living in a different way themselves could Christians adequately express their own identities and their faith, and he was openly critical of the trend towards the use of 'psychedelic' services, insisting that radical Christians should not be relying on forms developed and adopted by others:

"Only when we can lay claim to a Christian lifestyle can we begin to talk about a Christian form of worship. There is a current craze of using the material which has been written by those who have perceived or incarnated such a lifestyle: this can only reduce all worship to a spectacle or an entertainment, for it cannot under such conditions express the lives and concerns of those present...Other people's worship cannot be our worship: it can only communicate something of the character and essence of their community and their lifestyle." [47]

He concludes by observing that "we shall build the revolutionary community first, and our worship will grow from strength to strength." This places the questions of formal church attendance and the structure of worship as secondary to the more important struggle to establish appropriate forms of community that will enable them to articulate their radical Christian *structure of feeling*.

This view was echoed in an (unaccredited) article later in the same issue, which called for the Church to "incarnate revolutionary Christian resistance to the values and norms of contemporary society", this however was recognized to a be a monumental task:

"It's been argued that most radical Christians are well aware that the established church is in a degenerate condition, that there is no possibility of reform, that we must all drop out (if we ever dropped in) and create an alternative, liberated street church. All true except for one thing – the established church is more than just a bad trip, it is part and parcel of a system that daily exploits and oppresses not just us but others less able to defend themselves. It is part of the rubble that has to be cleared before (or during) the creation of a new brotherhood." [48]

This demonstrates a strong yearning for something more structured along the lines of the Berkeley Free Church, firmly beyond the confines

of the established church, yet with a clear 'street' mission, and close contact with specific groups, such as war resisters, the poor, the unemployed, and the homeless. Nothing like this was ever established by the Christian radicals in Britain, however, and where they did establish communal living arrangements, their external focus was on working with secular groups rather than attempting to build a specific alternative church *per se*. They were, however, involved in an attempt to re-define the concept of church. Originally called the *Liberated Life Church*, this was initially a very thinly veiled fund-raising exercise for the magazine. It was first announced in RR12, one year after the magazine had launched:

"Now, new for you...instant ordinations! Become a Revd. overnight with our new service. Useful when writing to MPs and newspapers and also if you get busted. This is a genuine offer for you to be ordained into the 'Liberated Life Church'. A certificate of ordination will be yours as proof. Only 10/-" [49]

The next issue also carried information about this new development, which exemplifies the 'playpower' ethos that permeated these efforts to articulate a distinctive *structure of feeling*:

"We just ordained the Rev. Pope Paul, Rev. R. Nixon, Rev. Mao Tse Tung, Rev. Harold Wilson and the Rev. Balthezour Vorster as some of those in most obvious need of a bit of liberating. Since the LLC has non-negotiable demands of total freedom, full unemployment and eternal life, we should be seeing some changes around here before too long." [50]

This tactic displayed typical flair, and attracted the attention of the mainstream press; *The Times* carried an article where they reported Viv Broughton saying that:

"It's a send-up of ecclesiastical authority. If you're offering instant authority you're really saying that authority is valueless. We're not a new sect. We're post-denominational: we tend to look on the churches as rival gangs of bigots." [51]

Not everyone, however, was able to appreciate the irony of this; succinctly expressed by a comment in RR13: "Are you really Christians, or are you just taking the piss?" [52]

The inside back cover of the magazine during this period listed a range of different activities and meetings, grouped together beneath the heading 'The Underground Church' (RR1-6). This changed to 'The Overground Church' (RR 7-9) and then just 'The Overground' (RR10-15). The reason for this, given in RR14, was that the 'underground' referred to radical and non-commercial papers, the 'upground' referred to 'normal channel media', whilst the 'overground' was "celestially orientated and aspirational". [53] It briefly became 'The Liberated Church' (RR 15, 16 & 19), and 'The Free Church' (RR21-23) and even appeared once as 'The Gorilla Church' (sic) (RR18). What this indicates is the extent to which the radical Christians saw the range of their activities as inherently connected as part of their efforts to create an alternative to existing structures. By listing things such as non-violent training workshops, meetings of the *Palestine Solidarity Campaign*, *Drug Dependent's Care Group* events, and conferences organized by *Christian Renewal* together in this way, the intention was to say that the 'Liberated Church' (or similar title) already existed, it just needed to define itself as such. This, however, did not succeed and by RR24 the tactic had been discarded, and the title became simply 'Diary of Events', which it remained until the final issue RR60.

RR20 did contain a '*Directory of the Liberated Church in Great Britain*' which contained the names of 83 people, most of whom were either *Roadrunner* or *Slant* readers willing to act as local contacts. This is the only example of the two magazines working directly together in any organized way, though the Directory only appeared in this one issue of *Roadrunner* and there appears to have been no mention of it in the pages of *Slant*, despite Terry Eagleton being listed as one of the contacts in Oxford. Interestingly eight of the contacts were ordained, and there was even a contact listed from the *Brotherhood Church* in Pontefract whose activities were discussed in the 'Contexts' chapter of this thesis.

As far as the editorial team were concerned the debate over whether they should be inside or outside the system had been settled firmly in favour of working beyond the bounds of any official church, yet it was not immediately obvious how other aspects of community should be addressed. RR's 13-18 offered several articles dealing with the theme of community – these included a report about the *Iona Community*, and an 'underground church' that had been set up in Goodmayes, Essex, as well as an account of *Emmaus House* which had been established in Harlem, New York to act as a "center for human and church renewal; an ecumenical community; and an alternative for personal and social change." [54] There was also a feature article on "Community, Conformity and the Revolution" by David Graham, in which he argued against the establishment of individual communes, but insisted that any alternative living arrangements needed to be connected in order to be politically effective:

"What is achievable is only limited by our own lack of organisation. We are terribly disjointed – and we should not, cannot be. We don't want a "central committee", but we do need regional and national coordinating groups if we want a movement...If we really want a movement, we have to build, and for this we need plans." [55]

Similar views were also expressed by Martin O'Leary in RR17:

"The flaws in RR are in a sense every radical's problems at the moment. I feel there's an immense gap between ideas and action, and that's a gap shared by most radicals. For example, there's all the stuff about the revolutionary community getting together. Fantastic ideas, but where is it?" [56]

By RR19 this issue had become more clearly focused and was expressed in a four-page pull-out called the '*Liberated Church Manual*'. [57] Whilst this 'manual' could equally well be discussed in the following section relating to *praxis*, it is included here because of the highly detailed comments that it offered about community and its' importance to the radical Christian agenda. Organised under six different headings – 'Shoot the Sun'; 'Connections'; 'Gathering In'; 'On Targets'; 'At Work'; and 'You Are the Rising Bread', the manual begins by offering a definition of a radical Christian as someone:

"...involved in the simple anarchy of Christian theory without becoming academic or remote from the community. He must understand that every religious axiom is at once a political manifesto around which to organize." [58]

In order to do this effectively: "You must first gather a group of people, however small, who can work together in a closely knit cell." This, however, is not enough as a key passage indicated:

"Having got together a small group of maybe between four and ten people who have a basic unity, it's important that they become more than a number of individuals who meet from time to time, laying on the occasional discussion or action. The groups who are serious about revolutionary change are finding it absolutely essential that they become living communities with each member knowing, understanding and loving the other members so that as you organize from day-to-day you can rely on each other and work out problems of direction, strategy and tactics in a direct way. To do this (we're just discovering) it makes sense to live together in one house as a commune, sharing everything as a family, a tribe....a church in fact." [59]

The manual then goes on to lambast the "false community of a dead church", and warns against simply reproducing existing systems:

"It might seem as if what we must do is to build a counter-church outside the old. But what makes the church different from other institutions is that it has no outside. Whenever committed people pull out from the old house of cards and start building their lives as bricks into a new community, there is the church. The right local form may be an old parish liberated, an apparently secular organization, or a newly formed grouping; the important thing is what the community does. " [60] (all emphases in the original)

This is a radical reversal of the 'secularisation thesis' that instead argues that every 'apparently' secular organization is actually evidence of God's work in building the Kingdom! Therefore it is the duty of the radical Christian who is seriously committed to building the Kingdom, to engage as fully as possible in 'secular' struggles, as the only truly acceptable way of expressing their Christianity. The final paragraph points to the existence of this 'radical church':

"The old church claimed to be a centre of community. But in fact the work and play of its members, their learning and family life, their success and failure happened somewhere else. Whereas the radical church is simply the true name for an already existing community united in struggle." [61] (original emphasis)

Here then, in the clearest possible way, was the theoretical underpinning for not only the radicals' commitment to living together communally, as part of a political project, but also their commitment to Christianity, via a thorough re-definition of the church itself. The question was no longer whether to be 'inside' or 'outside' the church. Instead the choice was between the 'dead church' as currently institutionalised in buildings, rituals, and hierarchies, or the *Liberated Church*, which already existed in the struggles of communities everywhere.

Not everyone, however, was convinced about the existence of this *Liberated Church*. Mike Brennan, in RR21 complained that:

"The idea of publishing a strategy including a gathering principle is like planning a church. The liberated church is good until it happens, then you take both words outside and smash them to death with sledgehammers. There is no movement. There is no lib church. There is only a subscription list to RR." [62]

Nonetheless, a group of *Roadrunner* editors, including Viv and Jan Broughton (who were recently married), plus Eric and Frances Loe, did follow their own advice and moved into a house in Brixton, owned by the Railton Road Methodist Church. The Methodists offered them the property at a low rent on the understanding that they would take on some work in the local community. The group had at one point considered taking over an empty church in Battersea, and using it as a centre providing offices, workshops, an arts lab, and a resident community. [63] They even got as far as having detailed architectural plans drawn up for the conversion of the building, but the costs involved, as well as difficulties getting the relevant permissions, brought an end to the project. Once based in Railton Road, however, they rapidly became involved in a series of projects including the publication of a monthly community newspaper, called *BOSS*, a club for 11-14 year olds, a squatters group and something called the '*Brixton Celebration Front*', though it's not clear that this was ever anything more than just a title. They also had plans to help establish a

Claimants' Union, a women's liberation group and an adventure playground.

"Whether all this puts us in or out of the system depends on which system you're talking about but we reckon the experience will help us and the liberated church and keep us from the way of tiny possibilities." [64]

What this move clearly reveals again is the long-standing nature of the vision that eventually led to the establishment of the 'experiment in community' at *Wick Court*, and its connection with this manifestation of the radical church. The struggle to find an adequate expression for this deeply held conviction in the value of community took place over many years and in a variety of settings, but each of these attempts go some way to establishing the nature of the *structure of feeling*.

RR26 was a special issue devoted to communes and religious communities. It examined the activities of various groups such as the *Blackfriars Priory*, the *Kingsway Community*, the *Grail Community*, the *Cambridge Cyrenians*, the *Blackheath Commune* and the *Railton House Community*. The motivations behind these various communes varied enormously, though all described themselves as 'Christian' in one way or another. In the *Railton House Community* it was apparent that the strains of running so many local campaigns, plus the pressure of producing *Roadrunner* each month, were beginning to show. Viv Broughton offered his assessment of the situation:

"We are trying to do too much so that as a commune, growth is slow. Almost every day including weekends we're working from 9 in the morning till the early hours of the next morning and that kind of pace can be destructive unless you have some kind of regenerative procedure. At the moment this tends to take its easiest form – splitting to the country for a couple of days, but eventually we must create some kind of spiritual intake within the commune itself." [65]

All the residents had paid jobs outside the commune, apart from Jan Broughton, who as well as handling all the organizational work for *Roadrunner*, dealing with local contacts from the various campaigning activities, and coping with visits from probation officers and the police, had her and Viv's first child Daniel to look after. The strains of the

situation resulted in Eric and Frances Loe leaving the commune, and soon after ending their involvement with *Roadrunner* as well. A new member, Jacqui Calnan, moved in and also took over from Jan Broughton as 'Roadmanager', but by RR28 the editorial group had reached crisis point and issued a plea for either more assistance with the writing, editing, and publishing, or for another group entirely to come forward and take over. They struggled on to produce a further three issues, but then production moved to the Manchester based group from RR32. [66]

The issue of defining 'community' can thus be seen to have taken various forms throughout this phase of radical Christian activity, leading to a rejection of the established churches as a version of community, and an increasing emphasis on 'secular' struggle in defined situations as the truest expression of their radical Christian commitment. By living communally and locating themselves firmly within the context of secular campaigns, the radicals firmly believed that they were participating in a dramatically new form of community that was also, in embryo, a new form of church. The final section of this chapter will examine what this actually meant on the ground, and also offer an analysis of the relationships between theory and practice, namely *praxis*.

PRAXIS

The first issue of *Roadrunner* carried a photograph of Jan Hammond dressed in Bishop's robes, and surrounded by a halo of words: "Alpha and Omega - In the Beginning Resistance!" [67] Some readers were apparently disturbed by this image, and felt particularly uneasy about a woman being depicted in this way. David Hart, in a typically forthright editorial explained the thinking that lay behind their decision to use the image:

"Everyday people are intimidated by other people in uniform, be they judges, bishops, police or traffic wardens. Whatever else we may have

intended by our front cover, undermining the false authority of people in uniform was certainly part of it." [68]

Other direct criticisms had been made about the use of a cartoon drawing in the first issue depicting a giant bloated naked figure wearing a military cap, eating people and excreting them wearing the uniform of American GI soldiers, under the heading "Don't get caught up in the system!" [69]

Hart's response to these criticisms was equally uncompromising:

"You may not like the fact that some of the children playing outside or inside your home will be taught to kill their fellow men, We don't like it either and that is why we put the drawing on the back page of our first issue... Some of you objected that this drawing was offensive, obscene and unnecessary. Are you offended more by drawings than by people being burned, maimed, bombed, starved to death? What is more important than to keep saying this in as powerful way as possible?" [70]

In defence of the style of *Roadrunner*, Hart argued that *Church Times*, and *Slant* already catered for the needs of those who required 'intellectual stimulation', - "We think something different should be said in a more direct way." Conscious of the need to avoid being seen as just another middle-class, left-wing 'movement', the task was to "demonstrate our seriousness" to "people who are in need", such as the homeless, the bombed, the lonely; and to "those who are responsible for the situation being as it is." It is the authority and power of the Government, Church, commerce and the armed forces which "has to be undermined".

Referring directly to Robin Blackburn's article, 'A Brief Guide to Bourgeois Ideology' which had appeared in the recent Penguin anthology - *Student Power* [71], Hart insisted that "We have to be a real not a paper threat." The reference to Blackburn's essay is especially illuminating, particularly given the explicit rejection that the CHURCH exchange in February 1969 gave to the notion of a fixed 'programme' - preferring, as it did, to concentrate on "charity without law". The opening sentences of 'A Brief Guide to Bourgeois Ideology' makes clear why:

"The first concern of a revolutionary student movement will be a direct confrontation with authority, whether in the colleges or on the barricades. But the preparation and development of such a movement has always entailed a searching critique of the dominant ideas about politics and society - in this way practice and theory reinforce one another." [72]

So Blackburn is not just calling for indiscriminate 'action' against those in 'authority', instead he urges a thorough-going synthesis of revolutionary ideas and confrontation. His argument is that it is only through detailed study of the institutions and ideologies of capitalism that a revolutionary movement can succeed, not by simply thinking through the contradictions inherent in the system, but by acting upon the insights that such study reveal. Within a Marxist framework, any such synthesis is, of course, conceived of dialectically, so that:

"it regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement, and therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence."[73]

Blackburn concluded that "It is the theory of the practice which is changing the world". In a word - *praxis* .

Hart's acknowledgement of the need to "demonstrate our seriousness" displays a clear awareness that even at this very early stage *Roadrunner* ran the risk of being dismissed as merely frivolous and even childish in its ambitions. In fact these are the very criticisms that were soon to be levelled at the magazine and its editors, and they proved to be very difficult for them to shake off. The final section of the editorial dealt directly with the Church:

"We are led in a new direction if we forget about the Church and look at the example of a man who did have the courage and insight in a desperate situation namely Jesus. He did not say 'If only we had a movement', or 'Let's organise for renewal'. He said what he had to say, did what he knew he had to do, and took the consequences. Politically and socially he was a failure, a huge disappointment to those who said, 'We hoped he would redeem Israel'.
Of course, you may say Jesus was only the beginning, the inspiration, the Church is supposed to put his truth into action in a big way, yes, even to organise a non-violent, loving, brotherhood, revolution. We agree, it would be wonderful. But it is only really saying, "If only...." This is not realism. It is cuckoo-land. Things have not changed." [74]

Three key issues emerge from this. Firstly at no point is God mentioned. Instead we are given a picture of Jesus as the 'man of action', the intuitive leader, who was clear-minded enough to recognise the tasks that needed doing, and set to them with scant regard for his own safety. He is not acknowledged as the son of God, but as 'a man', not even, significantly, as 'a Man'. Thus the faint but palpable influence of Death of God theology can be detected from the very beginnings of *Roadrunner.*

The second key point is the explicit dismissal of calls for 'renewal'. Whilst one of the key emphases for the evangelicals was on building up the 'Body of Christ' here we have *Roadrunner* deriding such activity as 'cuckoo-land'. Renewal is not the way to be a 'real threat'.

The third related point is that the Church has almost nothing to offer to those whose concerns are with social justice and revolutionary Christian activity. Instead Hart proposed that "particular local and national issues are taken up by people, Christians or otherwise, who have the insight and courage: Housing, immigrants, gypsies, nursery schools, Vietnam, Biafra, Polaris submarines, and so on."

The final sentence makes explicit the need for direct action, informed by their radical commitment to community:

"We want to use *Roadrunner* to express these things as directly as possible, acknowledging that it is going to need action more direct than this to persuade anyone to take us or what we stand for seriously for very long."

This need to be 'taken seriously' was foremost at this stage, and as indicated previously, did indeed prove to become a major issue for both *Roadrunner* as a magazine, and *Roadrunner* as a collection of activists. What is remarkable, however, is the way in which the three main themes - a distinctive use of the figure of Jesus as revolutionary activist; the self-conscious distancing from the calls for 'renewal' being promoted by the evangelicals; and the need to work outside the confines of the Church, and to go further than this to question the

whole nature of the Church as a set of institutions - are already being articulated as early as the second issue of the magazine. All of these issues were hotly contested in subsequent issues, and in many ways set the terms of the debate. The other highly significant factor is the stress placed on theory and practice 'reinforcing one another' - so that the claims for developing a *praxis* are also evident from the very beginning.

The shape of this *praxis* was to evolve throughout the period during which *Roadrunner* was published, and, as is to be expected, never became definitively fixed. The previous section of this chapter showed how the concept of 'community' came to be central as an attempt to build the *Liberated Church.* There were, however, other campaigns and activities which occupied the Christian radicals. Underlying many of these is the concept of the 'World Pig', which was first outlined in RR7 in an extract from a sermon given by Dick York. Describing the origins of his own ministry in Berkeley, working with the unemployed, the homeless, drug abusers, and runaways, he described how:

> "We looked around and said how do we treat the causes of this human wreckage rather than symptoms. We ended up discovering this animal called "The World Pig": that is the whole social system of violence and exploitation and oppression which created Vietnam and creates the oppression in the ghetto and now in the campus." [75]

Elsewhere in the same issue the slogan "Carve the World Pig to Feed the World Parish" appeared, and the following issue (RR8) carried a feature article developing the concept in more depth. Written by Roger Barnard, and titled "Pig Iron Politics", it offered a political analysis of a world divided into two power blocs, East and West, the Soviet Union and the USA. Both blocs were committed to extending their spheres of influence, in Latin America, Asia and the Middle East, and both were characterised as driven by a determination to exert dominance in military and technological terms:

> "In both blocs there has been an increasing military budget, intensification of an arms race, an ever madder recruitment of allies and satellites, an ever crazier building of military bases, an appalling debasement of technology and natural resources, an exploitative

suppression of liberation movements abroad, and an almost total erosion of freedom and democracy at home." [76]

Yet, according to Barnard, there are some hopeful signs:

"As the events of the last two years have demonstrated – from Prague to Warsaw, from London to Paris, from Chicago to Rome, from Berlin to Madrid, from Tokyo to Mexico City – there is an underground Third Force in existence alongside the demented power groups. It is an immensely encouraging sign that everywhere, sporadically but in increasing numbers, this Third Force is making itself heard and felt and thereby coming to realise that it exists and counts for something. As soon as it becomes clear that these separate peoples are one humanity united in refusal, this Force will be irresistible." [77]

There were, however, serious obstacles to be overcome in developing this shared sense of 'refusal', not least a coherent sense of the direction that the struggle was leading in. It is here that Barnard, who described himself as a militant atheist, felt that Christians had something distinctive to offer.

"In present conditions, for radicals of whatever persuasion to keep going, let alone get results, requires an unusually energetic lust for Paradise. Christians have always had plenty of that: what they haven't had, most of them, is an adequate definition of Paradise – one grounded in action for social change and the humanisation of man, work and the world." [78]

He concludes by quoting approvingly from Albert Camus, that what the world expects of Christians is that:

"...they should speak out, loud and clear, and that they should voice their condemnation in such a way that never a doubt, never a single doubt, could arise in the heart of even the simplest man. It expects that Christians should get out of their abstractions and stand face to face with the bloody mess that is our history today." [79]

Here, then, is an explicit call for informed and purposeful action, based on a distinctive analysis of the contemporary situation. This was given further detailed explication in the following issue (RR9). Describing the World Pig as "a huge ostrich whose body is all of us, and whose offspring is a thousand institutional abstractions", the editorial, written by Eric Loe, went on to offer a re-statement of the core principles which encapsulated the emerging *structure of feeling* at the time:

"*Roadrunner* exists to subvert that unholy trinity of Church, State and Military, that mixture of commerce and property owners, whose estate encompasses our entire lives, and whose justification for being is preached through a thousand sermons every day, from pulpits in Whitehall, the shop floor, the boardroom, the local church and across every television screen in the country." [80]

The forms that this subversion might take were the subject of a centre-page spread in the same issue, under the heading "This is to be done...what we can all do to help the revolution within the church find its feet in the World Pig." The suggestions range from the relatively innocuous – "Be a servant of tenants' action, rent strikes, industrial strikes...and resistance movements in all countries" – to the more contentious – "Redemptive sabotage and creative vandalism are the signs of the Kingdom...Paint on the doors of your churches: THIS CHURCH KILLS", and also included a range of secular and religious targets. Several of the suggestions bear the unmistakeable mark of the earlier CHURCH actions, such as the following example:

"Shake the bones of the existing monster: for example: Hire a police officer's uniform, walk into a crowded church and announce to the congregation that a group calling themselves Christians are outside trying to sell off the congregation's cars for the Medical Aid for Vietnam fund. When they all disappear and run into the street, sit on the chancel steps and wait for them to come back; hold a discussion with them." [81]

What informs these suggestions for action is not just the political analysis offered by York, Barnard, and Loe amongst others, put also a specific reading of the Gospel, which emphasised the radical interventionist Christ. The feature ends with a biblical quotation which makes this connection clear: "You will be brought before assemblies and put in prison. You will be dragged before Kings and rulers for your allegiance to me. Stand firm and win true life." [82]

The theme of the World Pig continued to be developed for a number of issues. Arguing that "part of creating the new is confronting the old" RR11 offered a range of 'ideas'. It published telephone numbers for Conservative MP Enoch Powell, No.10 Downing Street and Central

Government offices, with the suggestion to call them at 4.00am; there were also telephone numbers for Airport security, to be used if anyone knew of an arms salesman or minor politician planning to fly – by the caller identifying themselves as 'A4 Security' the suspect passenger could possibly be prevented from boarding the flight; a proposal to 'accidentally' wreck machines and vehicles belonging to the Army; and the suggestion to sell or give away your passport, "enough of this and they won't know who is on whose side in the next war."

The *Liberated Church* manual, published in RR19 also offered some concrete proposals for action, specifically aimed at individuals trying to form local groups of like-minded radical Christians:

"If you live in a place even remotely interested in its' tourist industry, do a satirical tourist guide to the local churches, worded in such a way that you know will cause the greatest offence to the most reactionary. Get copies duplicated, preferably with the name of your future group and your name and address as contact. Hand them out at railway stations, bus terminals, etc. mail them to all the local clergy and bishops, and most important of all, set the story up with the local paper who will receive this kind of controversy like manna from heaven. Keep the furore going with provocative replies to press questioning, plans for further outrages and the great letter debate, but at all costs do not reveal the membership of your group until the myth has turned into a reality.
If no fellow freaks appear, eager to get it on with the liberated church, our best advice is for you to gird up your reputation, dust the media off your shoes and split to where there is some action." [83]

As imaginative and provocative as these ideas were, there is scant evidence to show that either the editors or the readers of the magazine in fact acted upon them. Whilst the intention behind the World Pig thesis was undoubtedly completely serious, these specific practical suggestions seem to have been designed more to amuse than to form a coherent programme of practical activities. Not everyone, however, shared the joke, and there were a number of disapproving letters critical of the direction that *Roadrunner* was taking. Some readers felt comfortable with the use of language, but more concerned about the overall direction of the magazine:

"If Jesus had edited RR I think he would have included just as many 'fucks' and as much condemnation in it, but he would have pointed to God as the answer, whereas RR tends to point to man." [84]

Margaret Duggan, columnist for *The Church Times,* was especially scathing about several aspects of the magazine. She disliked the title, the lay-out (described as 'sheer ugliness'), and the tone of the writing, but reserved her harshest criticisms for what she perceived as the 'lack of charity' in the magazine:

"You seem to be unable to see any good in people who are not of your way of thinking but who are honestly doing their best according to their lights. You are so quick to condemn everybody but your own radical in-group...In the *Roadrunner* you talk a great deal about love, but your love seems to be confined to those you see as the underprivileged, and whom you can put firmly in their places. You talk about gypsies, immigrants and the homeless; they all have labels. But do you love men and women simply because they are men and women – or must they be in these pigeon-holes?...Is a bishop who is genuinely and desperately trying to do his job as well as he can any less worthy of your charity than the mother who is trying to keep a homeless family together?...Are you sure that you haven't a pretty hefty mote in your own eye before you try to wrench any more beams out of other people's?" [85]

In response, Viv Broughton, argued that what motivated the *Roadrunner* group was at least in part their anger about the attitude of the established church towards social injustice:

"We make no bones about the fact that we are angry. Very angry. Anyone with any compassion cannot fail to be angry about the programmed destruction of human life that is being conducted in most parts of the world by the governmental agents of the military-industrial complex. We don't see much evidence that the church <u>really</u> cares about these crimes." [86]

Broughton also defended the style of the magazine, arguing that 'doing things tastefully' meant accepting prevailing social mores, instead of challenging the "hypocrisy, legalism, compromise and cowardice" of existing institutions, including the church.

Other critics, such as Kenneth Leech were equally caustic in their criticisms, not just about the ideas that *Roadrunner* was developing, but also about the language it used to express them. Leech wrote that:

"The language is so precious and would make no sense at all to most ordinary people. Nor does one sense any depth of spirituality there. One symptom of this immaturity is the obsessive desire to shock the conventional and the thinly veiled contempt for those who disagree with you. All the talk of love cuts no ice because the underlying arrogance comes out very clearly." [87]

Whilst there is some truth in these remarks – especially regarding the desire to 'shock the conventional' – a close reading of the magazine reveals that what Leech describes as arrogance is better understood as impatient enthusiasm. One of the characteristics of an emerging *structure of feeling* is the struggle involved in articulating it effectively, but also the perceived need amongst those involved for immediate action. An editorial written by Frances Loe captured this mood precisely:

"It's arrogant enough to call yourself a Christian let alone a revolutionary one, but it's downright hypocritical if you don't get out there and start making the revolution yourself...*Roadrunner* is a movement, it's not just ten people pasting up words on paper, it's all of us. So don't write in and discontinue your subscription saying we lack inspiration, and don't say to us – why didn't you organise a demonstration for some event or other. If we're lacking inspiration it's everybody's fault; it's <u>our</u> paper and we should be inspiring eachother. We're all guilty of getting very excited and bouncing up and down on the spot. What we want is for the *Roadrunner* to run away with us." [88]

Reflecting on his criticisms during interview, Leech said he had some misgivings about his remarks, but still maintained that *Roadrunner* lacked a coherent sense of purpose, in stark contrast to the situation that he himself was working in:

"I was running Centrepoint in Soho, receiving thirty homeless kids a night, and working during the day, mainly with issues to do with heroin. So we were very much in the thick of drug abuse, and prostitution and homelessness, and I just felt these people [*Roadrunner*] were playing at it, you know. They were living in a dream world of their own, while there were really serious problems to be dealt with. I felt they hadn't got their feet on the ground. So I think I was probably a bit unfair to them, but I did see that it had a kind of very juvenile desire to shock." [89]

This desire to shock was undoubtedly an important aspect of *Roadrunner's* activity, though to dismiss it as simply 'juvenile' arguably misunderstands it's relevance to the developing praxis. The use of provocative language and imagery needs to be seen as part of the challenge to conventional ways of thinking and feeling about social and political situations, and not just as an end in itself. One striking example of this desire to challenge conventional notions of acceptability occurred in RR7, where an article by Viv Broughton about the churches attitudes towards sexuality, was accompanied by a photograph of Rev. David Hart standing naked in front of the altar at the church of which he was the curate – St. Michael's in Highgate. Several of those interviewed for this thesis remember the photograph vividly. John Duncan, the Archdeacon of Birmingham, for example:

"Its' (*Roadrunner's*) whole appearance, in the way it was sort of written and drawn out, and the things it had to say, were very much in tune with those radical flower power-ish days. I mean it was very difficult to know where flower power ended and Christianity began [laughs]. But I mean there was quite a running together of the two. My only clear recollection of it is seeing a picture of David Hart standing naked on an altar. I remember that caused a great furore at the time." [90]

Amusingly, David Hart himself couldn't remember the photograph at first, when asked about it during interview:

"EP-D: There's that picture of you naked by the altar and so on. How much were those...

DH: Have you got that?

E: Yes, I've got a copy of it here.

D: There could be more to this than I remember! [looks at photograph] How extraordinary! When was that? Does it say when it was?

E: I can tell you roughly...it was October 1969.

D: Where was that?

E: I presume that's St. Michael's, Highgate, but I don't know.

D: I was thinner! [laughter] October '69, eh?

E: Yes. The article is by Viv, actually. The article is about sex and sexuality in general.

D: God, it's really extraordinary - I'd forgotten that all together! I'd really forgotten it..I mean..it's extraordinary. It takes me..it's...it catches my breath. 'Cos I'd forgotten. But it also..it means that what I was saying was even more extreme than I realised [laughs]. You know, that willingness to do something publicly, to make a stand. This was not just having a point of view but demonstrating it, I suppose. But demonstrating it in some graphic way that obviously doesn't mean anything by itself. It's a graphic statement, you know. I suspect that the accusation of adolescent anger was justified...but not definitive." [91]

For some the photograph summed up David Hart's radical rejection of conventional morality, and his willingness to put himself on the line to demonstrate his commitment to radical principles. For others it merely confirmed their suspicion that *Roadrunner* was simply out to be controversial for its own sake. An editorial by Larry Law in the following issue staunchly defended the use of the image, and attacked those critical of it:

"Where is the pornography in a naked man or woman? Your morality is the fear that people might be getting inside one another. Your pornography is the fear that someone may show you that it happens. Obscenity is not the 'cock' or 'arsehole', it is what you think of your own body...The real obscenity [is] the obscenity of war, the paederasty of the cadet forces, the pornocracy of the State." [92]

What these disputes about imagery and language also demonstrate is the stark differences between those, such as Leech, committed to practical activity within the existing social structures, and those, such as the *Roadrunner* group, who agitated for a radical reconfiguring of the social system. This tension between reform and revolution was not confined to radical Christian circles, and formed an important point of cleavage within the broader counter-cultural struggles at the time. The *Roadrunner* project, in as much as it can be described as such, was to develop a total critique of all existing aspects of contemporary society, and one of their chosen weapons in this struggle was the power of words and images. Some felt at the time that this did not go far enough:

"My feeling about *Roadrunner* is that it just doesn't hit hard enough at organised religion. I should like to see RR supporting a Cathedrals Demolition Society, for the final demolition of all cathedrals...I myself find the whole *Roadrunner* thing too weak-kneed although I suppose a few trendy curates may find it is their cup of tea." [93]

This, however, was an untypical reaction from readers, and for many the strength of *Roadrunner* lay in its ability to find new ways to express deep-felt convictions, and in its' struggles to adequately articulate previously unexpressed feelings. Not everyone involved at the time, however, continues to view this as a valid approach, and John Careswell in particular admitted during interview, twenty years later, that he had misgivings about his own motivations during this period:

"I feel that I was a radical Christian because I liked the slogans rather than that I was committed to a particular faith. So, I took the bits of the New Testament which sounded nice and socialist and radical, and seemed to fit with the kinds of society we should work towards." [94]

VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE

Notwithstanding this reflection in hindsight, at the time Careswell and the others were deeply involved in attempting to develop a *praxis* that adequately synthesised their theoretical analyses with a programme of relevant radical activities. The precise shape and form that these activities should take, in practical terms, then gave rise to debates about the use of violence in furthering their revolutionary aims. We have already seen how the very first editorial in *Roadrunner* explicitly adopted a non-violent position, and this was a recurring *leitmotif* throughout the life of the magazine. By far the majority of articles and letters reveal a deep held commitment to non-violence, and there were regular advertisements for non-violent action groups and training days. CHURCH had not only advocated but practised non-violence in their actions - waiting to be arrested on the steps of St. Paul's, and in Mayakovsky Square, sitting down in front of Harold Wilson's car, non-co-operation with the police, and being generally obstructive - but not, crucially, acting violently themselves. There were, however, some who were critical of this stance, and others who sought to define more

precisely what 'non-violence' meant, and how it could be meaningfully applied in specific campaigns. Viv Broughton's view, rejecting the reformist route, summarised the dominant feelings of the editorial group:

"It is a contradiction in terms to legislate for peace and freedom, as absurd as killing for Christ or fucking for chastity. Life, as we've said many times before, is purely a matter for celebration...All we say and do stands as a beautiful defiance of 'law and order'. To paraphrase one of Christ's least understood sayings: "I am not here to bring law and order, but revolution." [95]

There was, however, also some cynicism amongst *Roadrunner* readers about the ability of this radical Christian project to speak to a larger constituency, and in particular its ability (or lack of it) to fully connect with the revolutionary fervour sweeping through the counter-culture at the time:

"You talk about revolution, solidarity, helping the poor and oppressed – very nice and we all believe you. But why don't you try telling it to all those real revolutionaries who are supposed to be tucked away in London and see what that have to say to you? If you can convert them to carry your ideas into the vanguard of their blood-and-bullets revolution, then you can say you have begun to achieve something." [96]

One of the most sustained engagements with the theme of non-violence as part of the evolving *praxis*, came from David Hart. After his dismissal from his post at St. Michael's Highgate in London, following his involvement with the CHURCH sit-in at the US military chapel in Grosvenor Square, he had been appointed as Chaplain at the University of Birmingham. His arrival in Birmingham led to a good deal of coverage in the local press, especially following his statement that he no longer believed in God. This was Hart's attempt to articulate his understandings of the Death of God theology, which by now he was "feeling keenly at a personal level".[97] Apparently his superior, Bishop Wilson, was broadly sympathetic to Hart throughout this period, but the local press seized on him as a 'heretic priest' and carried a number of critical articles. [98] During his time in Birmingham Hart was also closely involved in a series of student occupations and demonstrations, whilst continuing to write for *Roadrunner*. This meant that he was somewhat

semi-detached from the main editorial group, who continued to be based closely around the Railton Road Community in Brixton. Nonetheless, Hart was the only contributor to *Roadrunner* to have his own regular space, and the only one with his picture at the top of the column – 'Gods and Sods'. His contributions dealt with a wide range of themes, although the practicalities of non-violence were pre-eminent. In earlier issues this took the shape of a sustained critique of Army Cadet Corps in schools, and the role of Chaplains in the British Army. Hart's view was that the existence of this chaplaincy was both hypocritical and un-Christian, as it could only serve to support a quintessentially violent and repressive institution. This led to an exchange of letters with The Venerable Archdeacon, J.M. Youens, OBE, MC, QMC, Chaplain-General of the British Army. Youens' view, in a letter published in RR6, was that he and his colleagues were performing an invaluable service ministering to the spiritual needs of soldiers, and that Hart's criticisms were misplaced:

"The Christian soldier has to train to fight hard and to fight with the greatest skill and efficiency possible. He does not enjoy 'killing' his fellowmen, nor will he 'hate' those who are his enemies. Indeed a soldier's supreme expression of love for God and his fellowmen might well lead to his sacrificing his own life in the perpetual struggle against evil." [99]

Unsurprisingly, this exchange did not lead to a meeting of the minds, and did nothing to diminish Hart's deeply-held conviction in the necessity of non-violent action as the only viable tactic available to radical Christians. James Douglas echoed this view in RR10:

"Is there a politics without violence? Perhaps there is not. But if the meaning of the question is, Can men practise politics without doing violence? The answer is an imperative: They must if humanity is to live." [100]

Some, such as George Lakey, were more cautious in their use of the term 'non-violence', arguing that "many people on the Left who use the methods, resist the label of 'non-violent' at the moment, for fear of being linked with bourgeois pacifism." [101] Hart, however, was undeterred by this possibility, and argued passionately in the following issue:

"If we are working seriously for an alternative society which really will be different, we must do all this without hatred. If such an alternative is possible – the brotherhood of man, etc. – then we must show the marks of it now. If anything is to be different, then it must be different in us now. This does not detract from acting as strongly as possible to achieve what we believe can be achieved. Sit-ins, strikes, lobbies, should be happy occasions and this revolutionary happiness is one of the most disarming faces to present to those people who you believe will respond with injunctions, cynicism, prison and beatings over the head." [102]

Despite this unambiguous commitment to non-violence, some readers remained to be convinced. Typical of this reaction was the view of R. Ashdown in RR16:

"I have been disillusioned by what seems to me your pathological obsession with violence. We are all violent, but your violence is just too much for me to be compatible with my Christian beliefs." [103]

In later issues Hart focussed instead on exploring the nature of the 'threat' of contemporary radical activists, as perceived by the establishment, and offered the following pertinent observation:

"Though I agree with *Red Mole* that it is the working class who have the real power of revolution in their hands, I can't help but observe that it is not *Red Mole* but *OZ* and *IT* who keep getting raided. Which indicates to me that it's the expression not of socialist ideology but of individual freedom in matters of sex, drugs and the general refusal to play along with cultural conventions that is seen as the threat to those who hold the power of exploitation." [104]

In the next issue he was also critical of what he perceived as the lack of concrete action taking place:

"Non-violent training is rearing its ambiguous head around the country. A substitute for non-violent action, I suppose, at a time when odds against our actually changing our society seem very hefty. Let's pretend to be achieving something at least." [105]

This reflected some of the concerns already being expressed by readers that the impetus was being lost, and that *Roadrunner* was in danger of losing its' sense of direction:

"Something of that glorious, radiant, life-enhancing joy seems to have gone out of the RR. The articles are good and there is more in the paper, but less of the dancing quality...The revolutionary movement of

love and joy is the most hopeful thing for many years and must at all costs be kept from hardening." [106]

It is important to recognise that the debate about non-violence amongst radical Christians was not confined to the pages of *Roadrunner*. Trevor Huddleston, for example, who had long been active as a campaigner against Apartheid and racism, wrote to *The Times*:

"The rebelliousness, even the violence of the young everywhere have my profound understanding and sympathy. But sympathy is not enough. If the Church cannot identify itself with the movement for revolutionary change in the whole structure of society (and this will mean the acceptance of a loss of status, of establishment privilege and of material wealth) then its influence in this country will be even less than it is today: and that is saying a lot...It is the Christian <u>community</u> of this country which should by protest, by vote and – where necessary – by direct action, make clear its concern for the hungry world and for justice in race-relations everywhere." [107] (original emphasis)

The debate about the use of violence to achieve radical social and political change also surfaced in some perhaps unexpected quarters. One instance of this was the report prepared by a working party for the British Council of Churches, chaired by Philip Mason, about violence in Southern Africa [108] – which demonstrates that this emergent *structure of feeling* was gaining expression beyond the confines of *Roadrunner* and its fellow travellers. The aim of the report was "to illuminate the thinking of British Christians about revolutionary violence" but <u>not</u> to provide a "blueprint for dealing with the problems of Southern Africa." [109] After dozens of pages of careful analysis, covering the historical, economic and political contexts of the situation in Southern Africa, the report offered some stark and unequivocal conclusions:

"It would be blatant hypocrisy for wealthy, secure white churches in Southern Africa which are non-pacifist and prepared to accept the moral possibility of armed violence in their own defence, to counsel oppressed peoples to turn the other cheek. Similarly it would be impossible for a group of Christians in Britain to recommend sacrificial non-violence without being hypocritical. A body such as the British Council of Churches could not with consistency counsel others to non-violence while remaining ready to acknowledge the possibility of a 'just war' to defend Britain." [110]

"We believe that our churches should declare their solidarity with the aims of the revolution in Southern Africa and in comparable situations elsewhere." [111]

The report also quoted Archbishop Helder Camara of Recife, Brazil, who was subsequently to address the *Seeds of Liberation* conference, organised by the SCM in Huddersfield in 1973. His views offered not a condemnation of the use of violence driven by 'conscience', but an individual testimony which rejected it on a personal level:

"I respect men who, driven by their conscience, decide to use violence – not the cheap violence of the drawing-room guerrilla, but the violence of those who have testified to their sincerity by sacrificing their lives. It seems to me that Father Camillo Torres and Che Guevara deserve as much respect as Martin Luther King. Those whom I accuse are the real perpetrators of violence, those who, on the right and on the left offend against justice and make peace impossible. For myself, I must go the way of a pilgrim of peace. I should much rather be killed than kill." [112]

In terms of practical activity, the report highlighted the need for increased political agitation designed to draw attention to the situation of oppressed peoples in Southern Africa, and explicitly included fund-raising on behalf of organisations such as the *International Defence and Aid Fund* (IDAF), even if money so raised was known to be used to support armed struggle. This report was presented to the BCC at a meeting in October 1970. They, however, refused to accept it, thereby denying it any official backing, although it was subsequently published by SCM instead. [113]

The key point here is that the debate about 'appropriate' uses of violence – driven by conscience and commitment, in clearly defined political contexts - extended beyond the immediate purview of the radical Christians who read *Roadrunner*, and provides evidence that the *structure of feeling* was also struggling for emergence from some hitherto unexpected sources. Predictably, these arguments provoked a critical response from several commentators, both secular and ecclesiastical. Typical of these were the comments of the Bishop of Peterborough, the Rt. Rev. Cyril Eastaugh, who without specifically

naming *Roadrunner* saw evidence of a 'Christian pressure group' trying to persuade the churches to advocate armed violence. Writing in his Diocesal News, he observed that:

"One must suppose that those who advocate this policy are well intentioned and not moved except by stupidity. But stupid they are if they suppose that this policy can ever succeed." [114]

Whilst the debate about the use of violence in furthering revolutionary objectives was both passionate and committed – eliciting strong feelings from many of those involved – it is also important to underline the point that aside from providing moral and occasional financial support to armed struggles in Palestine, Southern Africa and South America, and briefly campaigning on behalf of two members of the 'Angry Brigade' accused of planting bombs in the UK, [115] none of the Christian radicals involved with *Roadrunner* were themselves directly involved in anything that could be meaningfully described as 'violent'. The debate was important in terms of the working out of their own particular *praxis*, and allowed for the possibility of using violence to further political aims, for those so inclined, but it did not result in the formation of an armed wing of *Roadrunner*, and was thus a purely (though nonetheless important) theoretical debate.

In this context it's also worth bearing in mind the routine over-reporting of any conflict between demonstrators and institutional authority, which applies the epithet of 'violence' in ways that devalue the full meaning of the term. Raymond Williams, who had seen active service in the Second World War as a Lieutenant with an Anti-Tank brigade, and thus had first-hand experience of 'violence' memorably argued in a 1968 article that:

"The last really violent demonstration I went on was across the Rhine in 1945, with what was then called the British Liberation Army. In a world full of actual violence, as in Vietnam, or in the shooting of radical leaders such as Martin Luther King and Rudi Dutschke, it's difficult to use the same word about what are mainly scuffles in the streets." [116]

RUNNERS

One final aspect of the evolving praxis which merits discussion was the establishment of a semi-formal network of 'runners' – named contacts across the country, whose role was to promote the magazine, and to provide support to local groups. At first this initiative took the form of a contacts list – the *Liberated Church* - published on the inside back page of each issue, but the concept later evolved into an attempt to involve local contacts more directly with the magazine, by having them travel around the UK. The notion of wandering representatives was hardly unique to *Roadrunner.* As they themselves acknowledged it 'revived an old Christian tradition of bumming' [117], one that was also being increasingly adopted by groups such as the Children of God. [118] It was also a technique used by some of the other 'underground' press at the times – although primarily as a means of establishing distribution networks, and thus increasing sales. This too was part of the aim of the *Roadrunner* network of 'runners' – though it had other ambitions as well. The first mention of the 'runners' idea was in RR21:

"Like to go on the road? Up to four adventurous souls are required to travel full time around the country promoting *Roadrunner*, meeting the radical church and writing about what they find. For as long or as short as you can put up with a job that is as far away from a 9-5 routine as any radical could wish for." [119]

By RR23 the idea had taken on a clearer shape. The role of the 'runners' was threefold: to promote the magazine to radical and Christian bookshops, recruiting potential sellers in each town that they visited; to get feedback from existing readers of the magazine; and to collect news and information about the radical Christian scene and to write it up into a regular feature of the magazine. The first two people recruited as 'runners' were Simon Wilkie and Jimmy Lewis, and the intention was they would hitch-hike around Britain, travelling without money, except for an 'emergency fund', and stay with a *Roadrunner* reader in each of the places that they visited.

Jimmy Lewis disappeared without trace almost immediately, prompting *Roadrunner* to comment:

"Jimmy set off without a fixed route and we've not heard from him for a while. We hope he's surviving OK and if anyone sees him could they get him to 'phone in." [120]

Simon Wilkie, however, did send back reports of his travels, which had taken him from the south coast of England, in Portsmouth and Southampton, via Bristol, Leicester, Nottingham, Sheffield, Doncaster, York and Selby, to Teeside, then into Scotland, visiting Edinburgh, Glasgow and finally Aberdeen. In each place he visited he listed the various people he met, and described some of the activities that he encountered. This 'mapping' of the *Liberated Church* indicated a profusion of initiatives at a local level – including drop-in centres for the homeless being operated in church halls, radical bookshops hosting discussions, whole-food market stalls operated by radical Christians, and volunteer groups re-decorating old people's houses. There was also news of protests and demonstrations being carried out by small groups of radical Christians, focussing on the familiar issues of the Vietnam War, and the role of the institutional church. There was, however, no evidence of any unifying principle which could be said to connect these activities in any meaningful way. Wilkie's listing of them does not imply that they shared any common perspectives, and the picture that emerges is one of considerable fragmentation, loneliness and disconnectedness. In a remarkably poetic report, Wilkie expressed his frustration at what he found, in ways that read almost like an epitaph for the *Liberated Church*:

"Revolution. Society. Society. Establishment. System. Church. Christians. Jesus. Violence. Non-violence. Peace. Subjects *Roadrunner* readers seem interested in (and love and politics) but their meanings are elusive. (action) People seem so nice and enthusiastic and into so many different things. That's good until you say yours is the only scene. And motives. Is Jesus a badge or a rock? Does he agree with us or is he our King? Personal salvation revolution and the kingdom (now) scene. These should be unified. How can you be part of the Jesus revolution without affecting the world – you probably are. And why are we fighting ourselves instead of – the world pig (which we are still part of). Churches which could be life celebration centres.

Fires. Mouldering ruins. Where we could be sharing and loving. Living together. I can see the revolution so clearly that I am blind to it around the country. We change our lives. Dance in the streets, not the church." [121]
(all brackets in the original)

The intention behind the 'runners' project was to create a clearer sense of unity amongst the radical Christian scene, to provide each other with models for local actions that could be taken up across the country. It was in some ways an extension of the project that CHURCH has founded several years previously. Yet it was clear that the *structure of feeling* was facing considerable obstacles in its struggle to emerge. There were identifiable moments of shared impulses, but these did not resolve themselves into a shared *praxis*. *Roadrunner's* role as a notice board for ideas remained important, but it was clearly having little direct effect on the shape and form of specific direct action. The hope was that the 'runners' would reveal and connect a network of radical Christians across the UK, but what Wilkie found was instead a very loose affiliation of some interested small groups and individuals, each of whom acted (if at all) in their own particular ways. Some readers still found this useful, one commented:

"It's like receiving a transfusion when RR comes in the post. I suppose it's the feeling of sharing in a family, a centre of energy. This communication function is vital, a means of telling what the family is doing, where the events are." [122]

Others were less impressed. Typical of this view is a letter from Phil Gross in RR24. Gross had been selling the magazine in the Brighton area, and although he praised the magazine for its' style and layout, felt unable to continue in his role – he explained why:

"The quality of *Roadrunner* is excellent – it is possibly the best put together of all the English alternative press. The content is fine as far as it goes. The point is that you deal with such a minority audience that it's hardly worth the effort. Your working class appeal is nil; your readership consists of middle-class idealists, intellectuals and parsons. I find *Roadrunner* interesting and enjoyable, but practically irrelevant to the real struggles going on here and now...I feel much more justified spending my time selling *Socialist Worker* or *Red Mole*, than selling *Roadrunner*." [123]

This view was echoed by John Shiers writing in RR30 – the penultimate issue to be produced by the London-based editorial board:

"I'm afraid I have become more and more disillusioned with the magazine. It does not seem to say anything positive; it's like a pale imitation of what a politically radical magazine and movement which is also exploring Christianity should be...If the magazine is simply going to be the product of an anarchist commune with a few hangers-on, what is the point in having it in the first place?" [124]

As it turned out, the London editorial board were also questioning their ability to continue producing the magazine. Based in the Railton Road Commune, and keenly immersed in a range of local projects, the editors were finding the strain of producing the magazine too much to cope with. There was also an implicit dissatisfaction at the lack of support they felt themselves receiving from other radical Christians, and an indication that after two and a half years, they were feeling the need to move into another phase. A note in RR28 explained their predicament:

"Our involvement locally has brought us to a point where we can no longer produce *Roadrunner* effectively and maintain our sanity. While both these are precious to us, we are not happy to see the magazine deteriorate through lack of time and energy." [125]

They outlined four possible options for survival: 1) bringing in new people to help with the layout, production and editorial work; 2) handing over the business side of the magazine to some other people; 3) passing the entire magazine to another group of people; 4) obtaining limited financial backing, to reduce the dependency on voluntary workers. Option 3) was accompanied by the caveat that they would only hand over complete control of the magazine "if we had confidence in the group's politics, theology and ability." As it turned out, this was the option that was pursued, and after a three-month hiatus the magazine was re-located to Manchester, with responsibility for production taken over by an ex-*Slant* group. As discussed previously, this editorial group became increasingly involved with specific local campaigns, and whilst subsequent issues of the magazine did include occasional articles related to the emerging radical Christian *structure of feeling*, these became fewer and further between as time went on. [126]

The original editorial group of the magazine were becoming increasingly drawn towards developing their own synthesis of the three themes discussed during this chapter – theology, community, and praxis, and it is their attempts to draw these together in a practical situation that led them to establish the 'experiment in community' at *Wick Court* which is the subject of the next chapter.

CONCLUSION

This overview of *Roadrunner* has focused on three main themes – theology, community and *praxis*. As argued above, this is an analytical procedure only and not a definitive summation of the multi-faceted ambitions of the magazine, its diverse content, or the breadth and depth of its coverage of issues both 'secular' and 'religious'. What this thematic approach does allow for, however, is an assessment of the continuing development of the emergent *structure of feeling* and the necessary struggle that this involved. What this analysis also reveals is the enormous enthusiasm and energy with which the radical Christians pursued their ambitions, and notwithstanding criticisms to the contrary, their sincere commitment and seriousness, albeit frequently expressed in terms designed to amuse and provoke.

What theology there was In *Roadrunner*, was 'implicit' rather than 'explicit'. It had a defining central feature, a clear emphasis on, and sympathy for, the 'radical' figure of Christ. Death of God theology did make incursions, so, for instance, contributors such as Peter Lumdsden, Alec Lea and then David Hart did write the occasional piece, but these were often expressed in opaque quasi-poetic terms, as if the writers themselves were struggling to find appropriate modes of expression for their ideas – appropriate points of entry into this otherwise 'implicit' theological terrain. As things progressed, the picture remained much the same. There were occasional flurries of theological debate, but for the most part their theology can be characterized as almost 'anti-theology', which made a number of

assumptions. Whilst the debate around 'community' was explicit, as were the debates around *praxis*, the theological aspect remained at an implicit level. It is almost as if the way the theology was expressed was through the debates around community and praxis, rather than through debates about doctrine, Christology or eschatology, which were perhaps seen as too intellectual and too narrowly focused. So even in its most reflective moments, *Roadrunner* remained largely an activist project – committed to developing new forms of action, rather than working at the level of pure theory.

One related issue is the extent to which their theology had 'consequential behaviour' attached to it. It is possible to suggest that certain forms of theology have 'consequential behaviour', or moral positions which inevitably flow from the basic theological structure that the group adheres to, but that cannot be said to be the case with *Roadrunner* since the theology was so implicit and assumed. It didn't have any *necessary* consequential behaviour. Had they perhaps more fully embraced, particularly, for example, the theology of John Robinson, Altizer & Hamilton, or Harvey Cox, then that would have at least have offered them some desirable consequential behaviour, without it dictating to them a blueprint for necessary consequential behaviour. Without that, however, they were cast adrift – neither wholly committed to the Secular City, nor conventionally committed to the Kingdom of God, but caught in between. So the same dilemma emerges which causes them to be distrusted by both the political radicals, who were suspicious of the 'Christian' label, and also distrusted by other (church) Christians who viewed them as hippy wierdos or foaming revolutionaries. They ended up falling between two stools – and having to operate in a restricted space.

This situation, however, should not be allowed to detract from their very real achievements. *Roadrunner* was an exciting, vibrant, irreverent, passionate, committed and serious attempt to give expression to a broad range of political, social and religious concerns. Its' dynamism

and breadth were truly impressive, and its position as the authentic mouthpiece for this 'moment' of radical Christianity cannot be denied. It's transformation following the move to Manchester reflected the somewhat different concerns of the new editorial group, and whilst it eventually folded in 1975 after 60 issues, it lasted considerably longer than the overwhelming majority of other 'underground' magazines launched during the 1960s.

It is clear that for the core members of the original editorial group change was being forced upon them, and that the struggle to articulate their emerging *structure of feeling* was rapidly taking them in a new direction. They had already successfully established a form of communal living in Brixton, but now felt impelled to develop this on a much larger scale, and in ways that re-energised their commitment to radical Christianity.

Footnotes to Chapter Five:

[1] Mary O'Mahony quoted in Dickinson, B (1983) *The Alternative Press in Manchester*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University College, Salford, p.90
See also: Dickinson, B (1997) *Imprinting the Sticks: The Alternative Press Beyond London*, Aldershot: Arena

[2] *Roadrunner* No. 37, pp.6-8

[3] Insert in *Roadrunner* No. 38

[4] *Roadrunner* No.1, p.2

[5] ibid., p.5

[6] See: Green, J (1999) *Days in the Life*, London: Pimlico Books, pp.302-306 for further details

[7] Philip Berrigan died from cancer on 7th December 2002, aged 79. His lifelong commitment to radical action was reflected in the statement he issued just before he died:
"I die with the conviction, held since 1968 and Catonsville, that nuclear weapons are the scourge of the earth; to mine for them, manufacture them, deploy them, use them, is a curse against God, the human family, and the earth itself."
Quoted at:
http://roadrunner.pathfinder.com/v5/1/my/news/story/0,2050,9001_307634,00.html

[8] They remained 'underground' for the following year, harboured by sympathetic christians across the USA, and playing a 'cat-and-mouse' game with the authorities. They were all eventually arrested, and served their sentences. For further details see: Polner, Murray and O'Grady, Jim (1997) *Disarmed and Dangerous: The Radical Lives and Times of Daniel and Philip Berrigan*, USA: Basic Books; see also: Caute, D (1988) *Sixty-Eight: The Year of the Barricades*, London: Grafton Books, pp.118-120.

[9] *Roadrunner No.*1, p.5

[10] Leech, K (1973a) p.180

[11] *Roadrunner No.*1 p.2

[12] Leech, K (1973a) p.176

[13] *Roadrunner* No 2, p.5

[14] *Time Out*, No.16, July 1969, p.51

[15] *Roadrunner* No 3, p.2

[16] *Roadrunner* No 3, p.7

[17] *Roadrunner* No 4, p.4

[18] *Roadrunner* No 4, front cover – see appendix five.
This cover, and the phrase 'fierce dancing' circulated extensively throughout the underground press at the time, and was even being used as recently as 2001 in connection with a demonstration against the arms trade. "Fierce Dancing" is also the title of a book by C.J. Stone – though he claims that the phrase comes from an issue of the Windsor Free Nation News, published in 1974, and appears to be wholly unaware of its' origins in *Roadrunner*.

[19] *Roadrunner* No.7, p.3

[20] ibid.

[21] *Roadrunner* No.7, p.9

[22] *Roadrunner* No.9, p.3 – see appendix eight.

[23] *Roadrunner* No.59, p.14

[24] *Roadrunner* No. 9, p.8

[25] *Roadrunner* No.10, p.5

[26] *"Only the atheist can understand religion"* by Lumsden, Peter in *Two essays in Radical Theology* (self-published, undated circa 1970)

[27] *Roadrunner* No.17, p.13

[28] *Roadrunner* No.21, p.4

[29] *Roadrunner* No. 22, p13

[30] *Roadrunner* No.22, p.14

[31] *Roadrunner* No.23, p.12

[32] *Roadrunner* No.24, p.6

[33] *Roadrunner* No.25, p.6

[34] ibid.

[35] ibid.

[36] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994

[37] *Roadrunner* No.25, p.7

[38] ibid.

[39] *Roadrunner* No.28, p.15

[40] Interview with Peter Lumsden, 1990

[41] *Roadrunner* No.57, p.7

[42] Interview with Val Hart, 1995

[43] *Roadrunner* No.8, p.5

[44] See: *Roadrunner* issues No.14 & 15

[45] *Roadrunner*, No.14, p.4

[46] *Roadrunner*, No.15, pp.6/7

[47] ibid.

[48] ibid. p.11

[49] *Roadrunner* No.12, p.9 Note: 10/- is 50p

[50] *Roadrunner*, No.13, p.12

[51] *The Times* April 15th 1970

[52] *Roadrunner* No.13, p13

[53] *Roadrunner* No.14, p.15

[54] *Roadrunner* No.13, p.9

[55] ibid. p.10

[56] *Roadrunner*, No.17, p.13

[57] *Roadrunner* No.19, pp.7-10

[58] ibid.

[59] ibid.

[60] ibid.

[61] ibid.

[62] *Roadrunner* No.21, p.12

[63] *Roadrunner* No.23, p.12

[64] ibid.

[65] *Roadrunner* No.26, p.12

[66] See below for further details of the move to Manchester.

[67] See appendix four.

[68] *Roadrunner* No.2, p.2

[69] *Roadrunner* No.1, p.8

[70] *Roadrunner* No.2, p.2

[71] Cockburn, A & Blackburn, R (eds) (1969) *Student Power*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, pp.163-213

[72] ibid. p.163

[73] Karl Marx, 'Afterword to the Second German Edition of *'Das Kapital'* *Selected Works*, pp.456-7, quoted in Cockburn & Blackburn (1969), op. cit. pp. 212-213

[74] op.cit

[75] *Roadrunner* No.7, p.3

[76] *Roadrunner* No.8, p.7

[77] ibid.

[78] ibid.

[79] Albert Camus quoted in ibid.

[80] *Roadrunner* No.9, p2

[81] *Roadrunner* No.9, pp.6-7

[82] ibid.

[83] *Roadrunner* No.19,p.6

[84] *Roadrunner* No.20, p.5

[85] Duggan, M, 'As I See It' in *Church Times*, May 23rd 1969, p.13

[86] *Roadrunner* No. 4, p.2

[87] *Roadrunner* No.9, p.8

[88] *Roadrunner* No.6, p.2

[89] Interview with Kenneth Leech, 1996

[90] Interview with John Duncan, 1991. See appendices six, and seven.

[91] Interview with David Hart, 1994

[92] *Roadrunner* No.8, p.2

[93] *Roadrunner* No.22, p.14

[94] Interview with John Careswell, 1995

[95] *Roadrunner*, No.12, p.6

[96] *Roadrunner*, No.16, p.6

[97] Interview with David Hart, 1994

[98] Birmingham Post, July 1969. See appendix nine for an example of David Hart's column in *Roadrunner*.

[99] *Roadrunner* No.6, p9

[100] *Roadrunner*, No.10, p.3

[101] *Roadrunner*, No.12, p.3

[102] *Roadrunner*, No.13, p.6

[103] *Roadrunner*, No.16, p.6

[104] *Roadrunner* No.22, p.4

[105] *Roadrunner* No.23, p.5

[106] *Roadrunner*, No.17, p.12

[107] Trevor Huddleston, letter to *The Times*, May 29th 1969

[108] Report of Working Party - *Violence in Southern Africa – a Christian Assessment* – prepared for the British Council of Churches Conference of British Missionary Societies Department of International Affairs, 28th October 1970. SCM archives. All references are to this draft, with hand written amendments.

[109] Ibid. p.3

[110] ibid. p.61

[111] ibid. p.62

[112] ibid. pp.62-63

[113] *Roadrunner* No.20, p.6

[114] *Roadrunner* No.21, p.6

[115] *Roadrunner*, No.28, p.16

[116] Williams, Raymond (1968) 'Why Do I Demonstrate?' in Williams, Raymond (1989) *Resources of Hope: Raymond Williams*, Gable, Robin (ed.) London: Verso, p.63

[117] *Roadrunner* No.21, p.13

[118] See Van Zandt, D.E. (1985) *Ideology and Structure in the Children of God: A Study* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics, for his own account of covert participant observation within the Children of God.

[119] *Roadrunner* No.21, p.13

[120] *Roadrunner* No. 24, p.14

[121] *Roadrunner* No25, p.12

[122] *Roadrunner* No.27, p.11

[123] *Roadrunner*, No.24, p.12

[124] *Roadrunner* No.30, p.4

[125] *Roadrunner* No.28, p.14

[126] It is interesting to note that 'On the Road' articles continued to feature in *Roadrunner* after the move to Manchester, and appeared in thirteen of the issues from No.34 – No.54. These reports, however, were all concerned with non-UK situations, dealing with countries such as Finland, Holland, Denmark, Austria, the USA, India, Bangladesh, Peru, Venezuela and Zambia. The only UK-based report came from Northern Ireland (RR46). The reports were not designed to promote *Roadrunner* or to connect the Liberated Life Church, and in many cases contained almost no information about radical Christianity.

CHAPTER SIX:

WICK COURT:
AN EXPERIMENT IN COMMUNITY

PAGE

NUMBERING

AS ORIGINAL

them to combine their commitments to both Christianity and social action.

Exisiting Christian communities such as some of those referred to earlier in chapter three, were viewed as not concerned enough with the realities of direct action, whilst wholly secular communes lacked the necessary Christian emphasis – however loosely this may have been defined. Hence the radical Christians needed a new institutional space that would offer the opportunities to synthesize their twin concerns – communal living, yet with a commitment to developing and expressing a distinctive version of Christianity. The *Seeds of Liberation* conference papers demonstrate this emergent *structure of feeling*, and it was already being suggested that the SCM itself could perhaps provide the necessary framework in order to fulfil their ambitions.

THE SCM COMMUNE AND CONFERENCE CENTRE & COMMUNITY

This became even more apparent in a discussion document written by Basil Moore, ex-Student President and then Co-ordinating Secretary of the SCM, just a couple of months after the *Seeds of Liberation* conference. Titled *The SCM commune and conference centre & community*, it laid out in considerable detail not only the background arguments for the establishment of a commune/conference centre, but went further to offer a series of concrete proposals for the day-to-day running and structure.

Divided into two sections, Section A of the document articulates the concern that SCM is too centralised and 'undemocratic' with too much power being vested in a limited number of officials, and there is also much praise for the style of the *Seeds of Liberation* conference, which featured self-catering, dormitory-style accommodation, and where the 'management' of the event had been handed over to the participants – so that delegates were free to set up their own workshops and linked events throughout the conference.

Framed as a response to some key questions: "How can we keep alive a more total vision beyond our immediate activities?" and "Where is the practical, living 'alternative' within the SCM?" there followed a summary of what were perceived to be the main issues. These included the desire to establish a permanent conference centre, with some form of resident commune attached to it; and a desire to 'equalise' the status and salaries of all SCM staff – including clerical and cleaning staff;

"With Paul we affirm the Church as the Body of Christ in which, while people may have different gifts (talents) to fulfil different functions, we have no right to evaluate (and thus reward) these gifts on a differential scale of merit. In Marxist terms most would accept that the elimination of class distinctions is an essential part of the liberation struggle." [33]

There was also a desire to involve families more centrally – and to share responsibility for childcare on a collective basis - as well as developing 'alternative' models of education at all levels, from primary to university. [34] It was, however, made clear that the establishment of a commune/conference centre was not, and should not, be motivated by a desire for cheap accommodation alone. In conclusion Moore observed that:

"The time is ripe for us to begin thinking about re-structuring our central administration/s, relocating our headquarters, finding an alternative conference centre, and seeking the wider possibilities of the 'resident commune', and that we should do this thinking in more than financial terms." [35]

Section B of the document offered detailed proposals based on the arguments advance in Section A. "That SCM purchases a farm/disused army camp/school/church/convent near a major city somewhere in the middleish of England." It then listed the kinds of facilities that such a building might include, such as living accommodation, workshops for painting, carpentry, and printing, a laundry, a children's playroom, a library, a garden primarily for growing food, and 'ablution blocks'. It warned against having too much space available in the main building, and instead suggested the provision of a 'guest cottage', "If this were not provided, it is likely that the commune could persistently be disrupted by too many people seeing it as a cheap hotel." This particular observation

was highly prescient, as *Wick* was indeed troubled by the high number of long-term 'guests' for much of its' existence.

At this stage a substantial property was being envisaged – one that could comfortably accommodate 300 people during conferences, and a resident commune of 30 people including children, rising to 50 in due course. As it turned out *Wick* was considerably smaller than this – the Tatlow Centre could host probably 150 for conferences (at a pinch), whilst the size of the resident community, though variable over the five years of its' existence, never exceeded fifteen 'official' residents. [36]

The crucial section of the document, especially given the later difficulties with the Trust Association, related to the nature of the relationship between the SCM and the commune. It is clear that Moore had given considerable thought to this aspect, and whilst boldly asserting that the SCM should have no decision-making control over the life of the commune: "It must be the responsibility of the commune to work out its own life-style, decision making and problem solving", nonetheless went on to advance a series of underlying principles which should inform the commune, and its connection to SCM as an organisation.

Some of these core principles were purely practical, for example that the commune should maintain and promote the conference centre, should commit itself to 'ecologically unexploitative farming' and should ideally include small children, teenagers, young adults and, if possible, older people. But there was discussion of the purpose and vision of the enterprise. He argued that the resident commune should be more than just "an alternative nest", or an "escapist retreat" and that it should consciously commit itself to communicating its successes, problems and failures as a learning experience of value to more people than its own members. It could do this, for instance, by running education workshops, and directly connecting with local radical campaigns in the immediate vicinity. The possibility was also raised of using the capital resources of SCM to multiply such communes across the country – a suggestion that

later took shape in a number of SCM houses around the UK.[37]

The document explicitly referred to the Christian nature of the 'resident commune'. This was expressed in the exhortation that the commune "be prepared to take Christianity seriously". Again there are clear echoes of the concerns that had been raised in the pages of *Roadrunner*, by Kenneth Leech and others, that this manifestation of radical Christianity was characterised by little more than frivolity and a desire to shock. The wish to be seen to be acting 'seriously' was thus much more than a passing comment, but indicated a real concern to avoid the mistakes and criticisms of the past.

Moore suggested two ways in which their seriousness could be demonstrated. Firstly that the resident commune should be "prepared to reflect theologically on every aspect of its life, and thus to address itself seriously to the wider Christian community", and secondly that "it should be concerned with the broader issues of 'spirituality' and 'worship', and so be able to speak a 'prophetic' word to those who also understand themselves to be Christian, but feel alienated by worship in the institutional churches."

Though the document concluded that working out the precise relationship between the SCM and the commune/s was going to be very difficult – "This nuts and bolts question will need very careful consideration" – and that any dismantling of existing structures should not be conducted too hastily, the effects of these proposals were to set in train a series of debates which led directly to the purchase of *Wick Court*, just over 12 months later.

Basil Moore subsequently wrote an open letter to all members of SCM in December 1973 issuing an "open invitation to you to send your comments" about the proposed move of the headquarters away from London. Two main issues were involved - firstly, the ever present financial situation, and in particular an £8,000 deficit, which was projected

to rise to £10,000 by the end of the year - selling *Annandale* was thus seen as a way of raising much-needed capital. Secondly, that it would be easier to develop a 'university and community base' outside the London area - so that SCM could become more rooted in a local context, and less bureaucratic and hierarchical in structure. It may also have been relevant that the *Seeds of Liberation* conference had generated a profit of over £600, and that having a permanent conference centre at the heart of the SCM could significantly contribute to alleviating some of the financial difficulties that they faced. [38]

A CELEBRATION OF FREE COMMUNITIES

In January 1974, SCM organised a conference specifically devoted to the themes of communal living - *A Celebration of Free Communities*. [39] The pre-conference papers contained articles from a range of sources, all of which aimed to extend and develop the theme of living in community. Extracts from the *Manifesto of the Commune Movement* encapsulated some of the main drives behind the move to *Wick*:

"...if our views differ radically from contemporary collective prejudice or if we see life in terms of a different scale of values, then intentional community offers the only way in which we can put our ideas into practice, whether for experiment or for experience, and in the company of like-minded people...a useful start might be made with a farm containing a large house, or even a very large house, with attached outbuildings, some of which are suitable for conversion, or a large manor house in extensive grounds, perhaps with agricultural land attached...For social revolution or companionship, our greatest asset is each other. Let's get together. We have already begun." [40]

Paul Oestreicher, offered a discussion of the political dimensions of community living. He began by offering a outright rejection of individualism:

"Discipleship implies – to use Bonhoffer's words – 'life together'. *Christian individualism makes even less sense than human individualism*...It is only in a socially viable group that individuality begins to have any significance. It is possible to be disoriented in a crowd. It is impossible to be oriented without one." (original emphasis) [41]

But he continued by warning against the creation of 'holy huddles':

"I am not afraid to put forward the generalisation that Christians have simply opted for different forms of escaping from real commitment to an incarnate faith. 'Religious community' is precisely what the Christian faith is NOT about. It is about the transformation of secular communities into the Kingdom of God." [42] (original emphasis)

The article concluded with a condemnation of existing church structures, which would have had enormous resonance for the CHURCH/*Roadrunner* activists:

"Christians are such bad revolutionaries...because we cling desperately to our institutions and traditions – even the so-called radicals among us. The real radicals within the Body...and equally those outside the Church see through our pretensions. They are kind enough (or unkind enough) to leave us to our own spiritual death. They have quietly left the Church or have never been part of it. Yet in a very profound sense they are the Church." [43]

Oestreicher's central argument – the need for an explicit commitment to political action, as part and parcel of a commitment to Christianity – was clearly very much part of the *structure of feeling* which the radicals were informed by and informing. He also offered approval for their decision to operate outside the Church, as a testament to their commitment to their concept of the 'true' Church, and thus provided a rationale for the concept of the *Liberated Church* as a dispersed network of socially-committed politically active radical Christians, which *Roadrunner* had envisioned.

The final conference report sought to capture some of the main themes:

"It is hard to describe what we must have looked like. Here were real live anarchists, evangelicals, freaks, Marxists and straights all come together to explore and celebrate free community. If the conference served no other function it provided a necessary cultural counter-balance to the stereo-typed parish congregation." [44]

Arguing that "Free community does not just happen, like freedom it has to be learned", the report offered a summary of the difficulties the movement faced in attempting to bring together their commitments to both Christianity and politics:

"The tension between religion and politics was now conceptualised as the option of the rural commune, with its dangers of escapism and utopionism [sic], versus the urban option of union and community politics, with its dangers of despiritualisation. We found no easy answers." [45]

This neatly encapsulates several of the charges that were later levelled against the *Wick* community – namely, that it was disengaged from the mainstream, and 'escapist'. It also suggests that the *structure of feeling*, whilst firmly in favour of entering a new phase based on community living, was less certain about the form that this should take. Viv and Jan Broughton, along with John Careswell, were by now working for SCM,[46] and with *Roadrunner* having relocated to Manchester, felt a strong urge to bring to fruition their long-held desire to establish a new form of community. Some of the original discussions about re-locating the SCM headquarters had explicitly referred to being in an urban environment, where the organisation could establish clear links with students at the local university, and with community groups. These early debates appear, however, to have been overlooked in favour of the rural setting that *Wick* offered.

Jan Broughton recalled the final stages of this process:

"We had this amazing property called Annandale in Golders Green. I do remember how we got Wick. I remember distinctly getting drunk one evening at a meeting. Every six months we had a conference of all the students together. I remember talking with a few of them, and saying, 'Why don't we sell it?'. And that's how it happened. I do remember distinctly pushing for this, because I was so fed up with living in Brixton! [laughs] I thought anywhere else would be wonderful. [laughter] I just wanted it. I kept hammering. And then John [Careswell] was visiting Bristol, he was going to speak somewhere in Bristol, and I said, 'Look for properties in Bristol John'. Which he did, and he came up with Wick. He came back and he said, 'They're not going to buy this, it's too wonderful to be true', but we all went down there and we said, 'Yes, it's what we want', so we pushed it through. What we originally wanted was a large place in the centre of town, to set up a community that was involved with the people of that place, but a lot of the students didn't want that. Because the student population was changing all the time, we did have a fair amount of power, because we were there all the time. That was quite a difficult one to push. So when Wick came up, it seemed to answer their problems, and also it answered ours. It was a lovely place. We hadn't visualised such a nice place. I mean, I'd visualised more of, you know, a tenement or something." [47]

John Careswell's first visit to Wick took place in April 1974, and he immediately prepared an "off the cuff report" with the title *The H.Q. Hassle - Twenty Ninth Instalment - All Change for Bristol?????* [48] Prior to the sale, the property had been used by a firm of printers, and comprised of a 17th century 3 storey house, set in 2½ acres of grounds, plus a small photographic studio, and a single storey light industrial workshop. It was situated just outside the village of Wick, and was 7 miles from both Bristol and Bath –which had significant student populations. It thus appeared to fit the criteria for establishing both a permanent conference centre, to be achieved by converting the workshop space, and could also provide living accommodation for the resident commune in the main house. The grounds included a large (¾ acre) walled vegetable garden, and an orchard, both of which could be developed to provide food and the possibility of a surplus which could be sold. Having found a suitable property, SCM acted swiftly to put *Annandale* on the market, and with a prospective buyer offering £320,00, felt confident to go ahead with buying *Wick*. The purchase was finally completed in June 1974, for the sum of £78,000, with an anticipated additional £50,000 being required for the conversion work, and repairs to the existing house. [49]

The scene was now set for the next phase of the radical Christian project. The following section of this chapter will focus on the experience of life at Wick for those involved, and on the bitter dispute that developed between the Trust Association of the SCM and the Wick community, which demonstrates the extent to which the emerging *structure of feeling* faced a series of struggles both internally and externally.

LIFE AT WICK

Life at Wick began on an upsurge of enthusiasm and commitment. Here were the opportunities that had been sought for so long, and the core resident commune wasted no time in getting to grips with the physical

transformation of the buildings into the planned conference centre and living accommodation. Originally comprising just 15 members, including Jan and Viv's two children, Daniel and Matthew, the commune devoted its' considerable energy into building work and repairing the fabric of the main house.

The sense of optimism and exhilaration can be discerned in the report written by John Careswell shortly after the first residents had moved in. He argued that the move, far from representing a radical break with previous SCM traditions, was actually very much in keeping with the overall ethos of the movement:

"We feel justified in claiming that the dynamic which has moulded SCM throughout its history is distinctly discernable in the move from London." [50]

He then offered a blueprint for what would take place in the new setting:

"SCM has never defined itself adequately on paper but rather through the actions and concerns of its constituent parts. The move to Wick is part of the process of defining ourselves through what we ARE. Reading the reports from SCM branches and students one is struck again and again by the repetition of the words 'vision', 'commitment', and 'community'. Wick will provide the opportunity to test the strength of our commitment to realise at least part of our shared visions in the form of the intentional community which will be formed at Wick. This community will operate on three distinct levels.
First there will be the Staff Team. The team will function as a collective, sharing decision-making and routine work....At a second level of community some members of staff, partners and friends, will live in Wick Court itself and establish a eucharistic community, hopefully a spiritual focus in the life of the Movement, but at the very least making Wick an interesting and inviting place for students to come and share...Thirdly, and as something of a bonus for SCM, Wick Court includes several large out-buildings which we intend to convert into the 'alternative conference centre' a widely supported proposal which has been debated around the Movement for nearly two years...There are considerable risks attached. But this organisation has taken risks before, and will undoubtedly take risks in the future. We feel that a life without risks is no life at all!" [51]

Elsewhere in the same report, Viv Broughton outlined the progress that had been made with the magazine *Movement*. Some of the comments are familiar from *Roadrunner* days – that the magazine needed better

promotion, and that more people needed to become involved in its planning and production – but the final paragraph identifies a particular issue which was beginning to emerge more sharply:

"Finally, we should mention the generation gap, because we in *Movement* feel it and are perhaps most immediately responsible for it. The magazine is, for many, the public face of SCM. For some it is almost their only contact. And, over the past two years it has been very much taken up with issues and interests that have preoccupied youth in Britain and around the world – politics, revolution, community, sex and sexism, new theology, counter culture. We do not apologise for this. However, we realise that the generation gap that this has caused in the world at large has also been felt in the SCM. We have no particular answer to this problem except our willingness to go on with the struggle for communication and understanding...All in all we are optimistic that, with the move to Wick...communications generally will find added life and substance."[52]

It is particularly interesting that whilst acknowledging the lack of effective communication between the generations in SCM, and even taking responsibility for it, the editors make no apology for it. Instead they see it as part of a global trend – the burgeoning 'youth culture' - and offer little in the way of practical solutions to filling the 'generation gap'. Clearly the aspirations for improving communication within SCM were high at this stage, and very focussed on the re-location to *Wick*. Yet, ironically, the move was to make this lack of communication much worse, and would lead to head-on conflict between the younger generation (the *Wick* resident commune) and the older members of the SCM (the Trust Association). It is revealing that even as *Wick* was being set up, there were signs of conflict to come.

Nonetheless, daily life continued, and the tri-partite structure – staff in paid positions with specific responsibilities for running SCM; the 'resident commune', also know as Associate Staff; and the conference centre – continued to develop, although there was in practice a lack of clear separation between the various structural roles. The paid staff, including John Careswell and the Broughtons, had a direct connection and obligation to promote and develop SCM as a national organisation in a context of massive decline with only five branches in England, and only a

few in both Scotland and Wales, [53] whilst the resident commune, which included the Broughton family, had a much less direct connection to SCM as a movement and was explicitly concerned with developing its own praxis and communal life-style. In between the two, officially at least, were the various elected student officials – Student President, and Regional Secretaries – who being younger, tended to empathise more closely with the resident commune. Thus there emerged a certain homogeneity about the central structure of SCM, with little obvious demarcations of roles and responsibilities. There was also an extensive turnover of paid staff – 10 employees left following the move to *Wick*, and certain key roles were left unfilled, amongst them the post of Co-ordinating Secretary.

In the past this important post had gone to someone with considerable experience of SCM, and the ability to take an overview of the organisation whilst directing the management of its affairs. At *Wick*, however, the functions of the Co-ordinating Secretary were devolved to the Student President, a sabbatical post, which was unlikely to attract someone with the same breadth of experience. Organisationally SCM was governed by policy agreed by the General Assembly, which met twice a year, though the Standing Committee, which consisted of members elected by the GA, took day-to-day decisions. During the *Wick* period, however, the homogeneity of the set-up led to the Standing Committee being dominated by the resident commune, who had a considerable influence over its decision-making.

Of immediate concern to all involved was the need to improve the infrastructure of their physical environment, but unfortunately the scale of the project grew to overwhelm them, to the extent that they consumed almost all their attention, and left little time available for the reflective dimension which had been one of the strong original impulses. During the first few months, however, considerable progress was made with the construction of the conference facility, and dormitory accommodation. The garden and grounds were also developed, though these never

produced the surplus that had originally been anticipated, and the commune was never anywhere near 'self-sufficient' in terms of food production.

One project that did begin to materialise during the first few months was the *Gestalt Orientation and Alinsky Training* programme, known as GOAT. [54] It grew out of an interest amongst some SCM members in educational therapy, organisational development and "conscientisation" This led to SCM hiring a professional staff of three people: Joan and Eoin O'Leary, experienced Gestalt 'facilitators'and Francis O'Mahoney, an ex-member of the Alinsky Institute in Chicago. The idea was that the GOAT programme would provide basic training courses, lasting six months, to interested individuals. At the beginning and end of these courses, there would be a residential 'orientation', lasting a week, and in the interim the trainees would receive regular visits from the facilitators. The scheme was launched in December 1974, and during 1975 three basic courses were run – two based at *Wick*, one based in Dublin, involving a handful of members of SCM, plus others such as teachers, social workers, a lawyer and a mental health worker. [55]

Other significant projects that emerged during this early period included a small conference held at *Wick* - '*On Being a Student*' – though no records of this survive in the SCM archive [56] - and the publication of a collection of songs and lyrics, which had been put together "from a week of community living, political discussion and a lot of singing at Wick." [57] There is also evidence that the resident commune were attempting to fulfil one other crucial aspect of their 'brief' namely to act as a spiritual example to the wider SCM community, by providing alternative liturgies and eucharists. One of these, described as 'A Common Eucharist' indicates the continuing emphasis placed by the radical Christians on the importance of political commitment. During it people sit in a circle, whilst the role of the celebrant passes from one to another in a clockwise direction:

ONE: Everything begins in mysticism and ends in politics. Speak freely as you have been spoken to.
ONE: In the name of Jesus Christ, supreme teacher and servant of the people, strengthen all who seek liberation: spiritual, economic, political, cultural, sexual.
ONE: Confuse and disarm all who profit from racism, exploitation, power, fear and hatred.
ONE: Break the weapons of oppression.
ONE: Build the weapons of the kingdom.
ONE: Fill all conflict with humour, love and surprise. [58]

This extract indicates the clear continuity between the early CHURCH actions – designed to be "filled with humour, love and surprise" – the *Roadrunner* phase, with its emphasis on challenging existing power structures, and the new arguably more contemplative phase that *Wick* represented. It shows that the resident commune was at least attempting to reflect on, and disseminate their own perspectives.

Whilst one of the motivations for the move to *Wick* was the desire to realise the assets tied up in *Annandale*, the original buyer withdrew, leaving SCM owning both *Annandale* and *Wick* for a period of nearly nine months. Eventually *Annandale* was sold, in the spring of 1975, for £265,000, which was £65,000 less than had been expected, and coupled with the costs of maintaining two substantial properties, plus bridging loans and solicitors' fees, left SCM in an ongoing perilous financial situation. The accounts for this period show that far from operating with a surplus, annual expenditure was more than £60,000, whilst income was only £43,000 – an annual loss of £17,000. [59]

It was thus the accumulation of these developments – the perceived lack of a clear definition of roles and leadership for SCM; the high turnover of staff and the lack of a Co-ordinating Secretary; the continuing and alarming decline of SCM branches; the launching of initiatives viewed as irrelevant to SCM's main purpose, such as the GOAT programme; and the deepening financial crisis – that fuelled the concern of the Senior Friends and led to a prolonged and bitter feud.

THE TRUST DISPUTE

What came to be known as the Trust Dispute provides a fascinating example of the very real and bitter struggles that surrounded the attempts by the radical Christians to express their *structure of feeling*. It illustrates the resistance and opposition that they faced from others associated with SCM who saw it as their role to defend the core principles of the movement, and viewed with some horror the experiment in community taking place at *Wick*.

Anxiety amongst the Senior Friends of SCM, a loose association of older ex-members of the organisation, about the new direction the movement was taking, had begun to emerge during 1973/4. [60] The increasing disappearance of SCM branches nationally was one major cause of concern, but it was by no means the only issue over which the Trust Association Executive Committee (TAEC from now) and the Standing Committee were at odds. In ways closely mirroring the debates that took place in *Roadrunner*, there was a widely held feeling amongst many Senior Friends, shared by members of the TAEC, that SCM had largely ceased to be a 'Christian' organisation, and was more concerned with stirring up trouble, and becoming involved in a variety of political campaigns. As Moore put it in the introduction to the Annual Report of 1973/4:

"The most frequent complaint is that the Movement is a trendy, leftist political organisation which has sacrificed Christianity on the altar of Marxism." [61]

This recurring complaint was not based on any sudden shift of policy on the part of SCM, but had emerged after a serious of changes which had taken place over several years. During interview, Tim McClure, General Secretary of SCM, in the 1990s, suggested that these changes had even begun to take place as early as 1962/3:

"One of the things that was happening was the expansion of higher education in the early 60s, and the appointment by the churches of chaplains, but I also think a sort of growing feeling of impatience amongst SCM types that the churches were dragging their feet - they thought the

New Jerusalem was just around the corner, and they felt they were going to miss it. So in 1962/3 General Council passed a resolution that in effect said 'our first allegiance is to students and not to the churches'. There's a quote from Ambrose Reeves, [former Bishop of Johannesburg] who was General Secretary at the time, saying 'It may well be that we can best serve the student body by ceasing to be a religious society.' And that really was where - some people would say - the rot set in." [62]

The introduction to the SCM Annual Report for 1975 offered a very similar analysis of the situation:

"It all stemmed originally from a desire for 'openness' - a desire to end the exclusiveness, cliquishness and inability of the Christian community in higher education to communicate with fellow-students, and an awareness, in the early 60s, of the unity in search and struggle of many SCM students with their non-Christian brothers. This was the time of growing political struggle on the campuses, to which the SCM had to address itself and to which it had to find an answer within the truth of the Christian gospel. In 1963 it was decided not to separate those who did, and those who did not, call themselves Christian within the membership of the movement, since to do so would be to deny the accepting community which many branches were trying to create. Yet the step was obviously a risky one - one which opened the movement to all sorts of insecurities, all kinds of different tensions. It was the policy of ecumenism taken to its ultimate, but probably logical, limit, but in seeking to be open to all, SCM lost the strong base which comes from a fixed ideology and a limited membership." [63]

It is immediately apparent that there are strong parallels to be drawn here with the 'super-ecumenism' of *Roadrunner*. In seeking to be as open as possible to people of all faiths and none, both *Roadrunner* and SCM, whilst embracing plurality and a commitment to the 'accepting community', found themselves struggling to clearly articulate their purposes. It was no longer obvious what, or who, the SCM was for, although it was clear that it was not simply an organisation prepared to continue in its traditional ways, and was actively exploring new avenues. That some of these avenues, with the benefit of hindsight, turned out to be dead ends, should not detract from the genuine sincerity of the quest that took place. This aspect of the praxis of radical Christianity was characterised by its thoughtfulness, and it would be wrong to suggest that the frequent accusations of frivolity and insincerity levelled at the movement were appropriate.

Two long-serving SCM staff members, ex-student president Bob Whyte and his partner Maggi Whyte, also made the point that the growth of political activism in the universities during the 60s, had meant that in many instances there was a considerable degree of common ground between SCM and, for example, such organisations as Anti-Apartheid, and 3W1 (Third World First). Given this situation, it was perhaps inevitable that at a local level, many SCM branches in effect ceased to be distinctively Christian organisations, and instead concentrated on forging links with other groups.

"The social concern of the SCM was being taken up by many secular organisations. By the mid 60s the old task of the SCM had been largely completed, and the gradually accelerating decline of the branch structures of the Movement can in the main be attributed to changes in the objective situation of the student world, rather than to policy mistakes by the SCM." [64]

This was not, however, a wholly convincing argument as far as TAEC were concerned, and the tone of their criticisms reflected a more general concern amongst many older Christians about the influence of radicalism on both the churches and society in general.

Basil Moore, writing at the time, summarised these tensions:

"Let us be quite lucid. The current members of the SCM have no wish to go back on the social and political commitment built up so painstakingly in the SCM over the past decade. But our primary concern now is to look at theology, worship, Bible study and spirituality from this perspective. There is here a distinct shift in emphasis from the SCM of two decades ago. Then the primary questions were - 'To what sort of social and political involvement does the Gospel lead us?'; 'Why should we as Christians be involved in the Third World?'; 'What is our Christian responsibility and mission in industry?', etc. Now those questions are being asked in reverse: 'What is the relevance of the Gospel to those who are working for a radical change in society?'; Does the Christian faith have any place in the struggle for liberation in the Third World?'; 'Is anything more than political economics involved in effecting change in the pattern of our labour relations?' etc. While this is a marked change, it is not an abandonment of Christianity. Rather, within our highly secular society it is as authentic a search as I am aware of for the place of a Christian faith and life (as opposed to ecclesiastical structure) in our contemporary society." [65]

This thoughtful and perceptive analysis of the changes that had taken place was, however, not enough to convince TAEC. Seeing themselves as custodians of the SCM and its principles, many of them were horrified by what they perceived to be the 'hippy' excesses of the resident commune. This point is of central importance, since it allows one to consider the Trust dispute in its broader context. It therefore becomes impossible to see the dispute as being wholly concerned with financial management, and instead it is hard to avoid the suspicion that the crisis was used by TAEC to attack the attitudes within the resident commune, their increasing commitment to 'political' campaigning, their links to the counter-culture, and the whole ethos behind the 'experiment in community' at *Wick*. The final gesture to convince TAEC of the need to intervene was a vote of confidence that the Standing Committee passed in itself in June 1975. Intended to demonstrate an expression of confidence to the wider membership of the SCM that the Standing Committee had tackled the financial situation seriously and thoughtfully, it was interpreted by TAEC as little more than naive arrogance. The immediate result was that TAEC ordered an investigation of SCM, setting aside £1000 for this purpose.

The investigation concluded in September 1975. Its three-page confidential report was based on a visit to *Wick* and a meeting with the SCM accountant, and although it raised a number of questions about the new direction of the Movement, TAEC were persuaded not to act further at this stage after receiving assurances that a group of people from the London SCM group sympathetic to the Trust's position, were going to attend the General Assembly in October 1975, with the specific intention of raising these same concerns. TAEC accepted this assurance, and decided to respect the policy-making authority of the General Assembly, and not to intervene further at this stage. They did, however, write a separate letter to the Assembly which they asked the student president, Martin Palmer, to present on their behalf.

The October 1975 General Assembly was a heated affair, at which a lengthy debate took place focused on *Wick*, and related issues. Criticisms tabled by the group from London were not accepted, and instead the Assembly re-affirmed *Wick* as headquarters/conference centre/community and as "the centre for the movement". Four key decisions were taken by this General Assembly - 1) The job of Student President was made a sabbatical role, replacing the previous post of Co-ordinating Secretary; 2) the administration of SCM was reduced to just three posts - Student President, Finance/Administration Secretary, and Conference Centre Co-ordinator - all of whom were to be based at *Wick*; 3) a 'brief' for the *Wick* Community was formally approved - a move that was to lead to a great deal of bitterness and misunderstanding; 4) the shift towards what was called 'greater national autonomy', in other words regionalisation, was approved in principle.

The letter from the TAEC, delivered by Martin Palmer, was also discussed, and a group from the Standing Committee agreed to meet the Trust Association. It was also agreed to consult with TAEC over the appointment of the new Finance/Administration Secretary. The third request - to appoint a Co-ordinating Secretary instead of transferring responsibility to the Sabbatical Student President was not agreed to. The Assembly went on to ratify and reaffirm other earlier decisions taking by the Standing Committee, namely the relocation of *Movement* to Dublin, and the proposal for a three-year budget, including a deficit budget for the coming year.

TAEC met again two weeks after this General Assembly, on 15th October 1975, and came to the conclusion that their concerns had not been seriously addressed, and that there remained outstanding several troubling issues. One of these related to the relatively poor attendance at the Assembly, rendering it inquorate. [66] The constitution did allow, however, for the Assembly to do business without a quorum - provided that the Standing Committee ratified the decisions! This was seen as wholly unacceptable by TAEC, since it had the effect of allowing the

Standing Committee, who were the subject of much of the dispute, to act as *de facto* judge and jury.

In response to this TAEC used the only remaining tactic open to them, by passing a resolution to suspend all payments to SCM as of November 30th 1975, and they also decided not to go ahead with the planned meeting with the Standing Committee. In its role as holders of the purse strings, TAEC was able to exercise its financial control in order to, as they saw it, safeguard the future security of the SCM.

The two sides were now in open confrontation with each other, and the option of meaningful dialogue had ceased to exist. Instead there was a feeling of great bitterness, with each side believing that it had the best interests of SCM at heart, and that the other side were merely trying to destroy the careful achievements. The Standing Committee convened a meeting of staff and student representatives at *Wick* on the 30th and 31st October 1975, at which it was decided to take legal advice with a view to challenging the TAEC's actions, whilst at the same time the accountants were advised no longer to accept instructions from TAEC, but only from the Standing Committee. The meeting affirmed the Standing Committee as the sole authority in SCM and asked an intermediary, Rev.John Davies, to convene a meeting between Standing Committee and TAEC.

The ensuing stand-off centred around two distinct points of view. TAEC firmly believed that SCM was failing in its historical role as a large national ecumenical organisation with a vibrant presence on a majority of University campuses. Instead it had become a numerically small movement, with a leftist political slant and uncertain theology. It was seen as being dominated by a small group of staff, with comparatively little student involvement, and was spiritually as well as physically distanced from the concerns of most SCM members. The role of the Coordinating Secretary - traditionally the person with a mature central vision, a sense of continuity and the competence to oversee the movement's development - has been replaced by the sabbatical Student

President, who was likely to be relatively inexperienced, temporary, and open to the undue influence from the staff on the Standing Committee. TAEC thus felt it had a responsibility to protect the SCM, even if this meant protecting it from itself, and was unwilling to watch the already diminishing resources dwindle further. Their view was that the SCM collective at *Wick* had not shown itself able to adequately manage either the finances or the spiritual direction of the movement, and was likely to spend yet more money on what TAEC regarded as unrelated activities.

On the other hand the Standing Committee, as the voice of the *Wick* community, took the view that they were involved in a process of redefining the direction of the movement. The establishment of community houses, the move away from London and the creation of a different style of 'headquarters', a modest parity wage for staff, a collective rather than hierarchical staff structure, and the reduction of central bureaucracy in favour of regionalisation and decentralisation, were all parts of this new direction. Standing Committee argued that these changes were solidly based on a much longer process of discussion and debate that had been taking place within SCM for several years, and yet was only now beginning to come to fruition. They wished to explore in practical ways the application of Christian values in a variety of social and political activities. As Richard Zipfel, one of the resident commune, put it at the time:

> "SCM has accepted itself as a smaller organisation than it used to be, but with a valuable perspective and an important role to perform. It sees the movement's worth, not in the number of members it can accumulate, but in the ideas and activities it can insert into the student scene. It has given up any desire to recreate an empire, but wants to work with the people and organisations presently on campuses which share similar or overlapping aims. It is convinced that the particular style of its conferences, its living centres, its journal and its perspective all form a unique and significant contribution to the larger ecumenical movement among students." [67]

This talk of 'empires' and 'accumulating members' would have been unlikely to impress TAEC, who were in any case seen by the Standing Committee as detached and reactionary:

"From SCM's point of view the Trust has abandoned its rightful role as a participant in the movement's development. Instead, made up of people no longer involved in SCM, it has remained a detached observer, hostile rather than supportive in hard times, unsympathetic with the direction in which the SCM is legitimately developing, and interpreting events against a nostalgic picture of what the movement was some years ago or an idealised picture of what it might become." [68]

So whilst the dispute ostensibly centred on financial issues, it can be clearly seen that there was much more at stake. In many ways it was the playing out of the generational conflict that Viv Broughton had identified in his article written before the move to *Wick*. TAEC wanted to preserve the SCM in its traditional role. The Standing Committee wanted to be able to conduct its "experiment in community", which they saw as the next stage in the process of redefining the purpose and value of the SCM, to find ways of developing its praxis of radical Christianity, and articulating the emerging *structure of feeling*. Neither side seemed very willing to accept that the other had the interests of the movement at heart, and the whole dispute was at times both acrimonious and heated.

Rev. John Davies managed to arrange a meeting between TAEC and Standing Committee, which took place on November 19th, eleven days before the deadline for suspending payments. At this meeting TAEC, ignored the points put forward by the Standing Committee, and decided to seek advice from the Charity Commissioners, and asked SCM lawyer Michael Carey to handle the discussions. Dave Sinclair, newly elected Student President, wrote to the wider membership, including Senior Friends, as part of an informal consultation of past and present members, asking for people to contact TAEC to support the mediation role of Rev. John Davies. The letter also asked TAEC to suspend the decision to withhold funds "in order to remove from discussions the element of coercion". [69] This attempt to broaden the dispute, and to bring it to the attention of a wider constituency did not impress TAEC. Having consulted the Charity Commissioners, they decided at their meeting on 1st December 1975 not to withhold ordinary funds from SCM, but chose instead to freeze capital intended for the conference centre

and the main building, and also to block the appointment of the Finance/Administration Secretary. They also formalised their charges against the *Wick* community, which boiled down to three main complaints:

1) That the structural and constitutional machinery of the SCM no longer existed, or was in a state of disintegration; and
2) that there was no adequate administrative and financial control over the use of SCM funds.
3) that in some instances SCM funds were being used for purposes and projects outside the constitutional objects of the Movement, i.e. non-SCM purposes. [70]

These three charges were further discussed at the Annual General Meeting of TAEC on 19th December 1975. Michael Carey advised the meeting that in his opinion, and after having considered information provided to him by TAEC, there were grounds for withholding funding from SCM. However it was agreed that arrangements be made for Mr. Carey to visit *Wick* to discuss the situation with the community, before any further action was taken. This visit finally took place on 15th February 1976. Mr.Carey spent four-and-a-half hours at *Wick*, and met with the Standing Committee and the staff. This was a productive meeting, which allowed the *Wick* community to put its case, and resulted in a report, produced four days later on February 19th, which largely exonerated the SCM, although it did include several criticisms. Principle amongst these was a 'failure of communication' on the part of the SCM, some mismanagement of the accounting procedures - although these were blamed on oversights, rather than impropriety - and disquiet was expressed about the 'brief' that had been negotiated for the *Wick* community. Standing Committee accepted these criticisms, and agreed to re-draft the 'brief'. At this stage the resident commune at *Wick* had good reason to believe that an end to the dispute had been reached, and that a process of reconciliation between TAEC and the Standing Committee could begin.

On 1st March 1976, however, TAEC met to consider the Carey Report, and much to the disappointment of those at *Wick*, decided to reject it entirely, whilst also relieving Mr.Carey of his responsibilities in handling the dispute. [71] This was a serious set-back, and provoked some considerable anger and frustration on the part of the Standing Committee. They felt, with some justification, that they had done a great deal to co-operate with TAEC, but now began to feel that TAEC were interested only in dismantling *Wick*, and returning SCM to its previous role as a national campus-based organisation. The dispute started to seem like a significant counter-response to the emerging *structure of feeling*, and thus less about the specifics of financial management and administration, and much more about how radical Christianity was being articulated.

Following this setback, Dave Sinclair attempted to convene an Emergency General Meeting of the whole Trust Association to consider the actions of the Executive Committee - there is, however, no record of this having taken place. On April 5th 1976 Richard Zipfel wrote an open letter to Dave Sinclair on behalf of the *Wick* community outlining a new 'brief', and explaining the work that SCM could reasonably expect from them. The three major areas of work were: the central administration of the SCM, by the Student President, and the Finance/Administration Secretary; the Conference Centre Administration, by the Co-ordinator of the Centre; and the work of the resident commune. It was this third aspect that continued to trouble TAEC. The letter acknowledged the difficulties that the commune were experiencing in asserting collectivity in principle, and in breaking free from "the old divisions of labour that are characteristic of a capitalist and sexist society". It outlined in detail the services the resident commune were providing to SCM, including 'maintenance', 'hospitality' and 'local outreach', and concluded that the resident commune was already providing SCM with services worth £3,440 a year, which after deducting an amount for accommodation, resulted in SCM receiving approximately £1400 a year. This led to the conclusion that "If these calculations are even roughly accurate, it makes

nonsense of the accusation that the Wick Community are sciving (sic) off SCM." [72]

This is a very important document since despite its somewhat combative tone in places, it does demonstrate that the resident commune were aware of their problems, and were attempting to address them in an open and honest way. There was a willingness to hold themselves accountable, and to do what they could, short of abandoning the experiment altogether, to accommodate TAEC's anxieties, and to re-negotiate the 'brief'. What is noticeably absent, however, is any discussion of a strategy designed to re-vitalise the national branch structure of SCM - which was ostensibly the issue of central concern to those on TAEC. The next General Assembly in April 1976 passed a vote of confidence, *nem con*, in the Standing Committee for their handling of the dispute so far. It also approved, *nem con*, a motion proposed by Standing Committee to renegotiate the *Wick* 'brief', in consultation with TAEC. It then passed a unanimous vote of thanks to Gillian Birkby, a representative of TAEC, for attending the Assembly, and asked the whole of the Trust Association, including the Executive Committee, to attend the next General Assembly. [73]

The September 1976 General Assembly coincided with the official opening of the conference centre at *Wick* – named the Tatlow Centre after the artist Tissington Tatlow who had been General Secretary of SCM in 1898, and one of whose paintings was hung in the centre. This was the realisation of one of the founding principles of the move to *Wick* – it was never intended just as a commune, but was also designed to provide conference space. This General Assembly can be seen as a significant turning point for the radical Christians. The new focus was on re-building the institutional structures of SCM, and the experiment in community was increasingly being seen as an unrealistic option. The *structure of feeling* was starting to change, and the radicals were increasingly finding them out-of-step with prevailing attitudes.

The programme for the General Assembly made reference to the difficulties with TAEC:

"With the Movement now fully staffed (or nearly so) and the dispute with the Trust Association out of our hands, if not behind us, we have reached an ideal point to examine our future, and the future of the area in which the majority of our work is done." [74]

The outcome of the dispute saw it being taken again to the Charity Commissioners, who eventually ruled in favour of the Standing Committee, and hence TAEC were forced to release the funding that they had withheld. The Charity Commissioners took the view that responsibility for SCM belonged to the membership itself, and that whilst TAEC had a legitimate role in protecting the financial assets of the SCM, they did not have the power to veto decisions properly taken by the General Assembly. Tim McClure recalled that this was a pivotal moment:

"I think that was an absolutely crucial decision, in that it said ultimately the movement is the student's movement, and the Trust Association has no right to withhold money for things that are properly, legitimately approved by the student membership. Whatever it may involve, as long as it is not used against the purpose of the movement, then they can determine how the money is used. But it caused a lot of bad feeling, obviously. In that sense, the movement itself won, and wasn't going to be pushed into doing things in the way that another generation was telling them to do it." [75]

Viv Broughton also offered his memory of the events:

"There was a huge battle. The trustees fought a rearguard action to try to oust us, that's right. It was a very interesting period that was. I mean, I felt that we did it very responsibly - that it was regenerating the SCM. Although, we probably torpedoed the SCM as an organisation in a lot of ways, because we weren't the kind of people who were interested in building up little cosy campus christian societies - which is really what SCM had been. In that sense, in terms of organisation building, we weren't really very good at that, as you might imagine! [laughter] But I think it was the most exciting period of the SCM's life, in terms of its' thinking, and its' theology. And those issues of '*Movement*' which were produced from Wick were way ahead of their time, particularly in terms of feminist theology, liberation theology, and stuff on ritual, and worship, and music." [76]

Barely two years after the first residents had moved in to *Wick*, and having weathered the Trust Dispute, the resident community had every

reason to look forward to a less bumpy ride. This, however, was not to be. Viv and Jan had split up, with Jan leaving the two children at *Wick* for a brief period whilst she went to live elsewhere, before they later joined her. There were also some interpersonal difficulties within the resident community, which led to some tension on a day-today level. [77] Jan recollected that:

"I suppose we were all beginning to realise that our personal lives were important and where were we going with them, and what was happening to us as individuals? I actually felt at the time when I left Wick..I felt enormous resentment, huge resentment against the whole community...because it was my home, and I had nothing. I left with nothing." [78]

Further troubles loomed - notionally centred on the perennial issues of financial control - though often as thinly veiled attacks on the whole ethos of *Wick*. In fact, even as the dispute was ending, the seeds of discontent can be perceived in the papers presented at the September 1976 General Assembly.

DECLINE AND DISILLUSIONMENT

If the 1969 General Assembly can be seen as the defining moment in initiating the move to *Wick*, then the 1976 General Assembly can with justification be seen as the beginning of the end. The papers for this General Assembly contain articles that shed a great deal of light on the prevailing *structure of feeling* within SCM. One of these entitled *SCM - Left in the lurch or Left in the middle?* - was written by Basil Moore. It is a lengthy document, in which Moore concentrated his analysis on the class-based nature of the SCM - which he characterised as 'petit-bourgeois' - and examined the implications of this for the movements' 'left' orientation.

Moore argued that whereas in earlier times the SCM was a 'liberal-intellectual' organisation, with an emphasis on welfare, SCM in the early 1960's, under Ambrose Reeves, was more directly 'political' (i.e. activist), and that, when pushed to offer justifications for this activism would then

attempt to provide biblical/theological arguments. Thus the theory followed the activity, often as an after-thought, and it was often difficult to see the connection between the two. This untheoretical practice was not, according to Moore, grounded - and there was a lack of clarity in both the practice and the theory. Theory was, at best, an 'after-the-fact' addition, tacked on to calm the anxieties of the increasingly worried Christian establishment.

In a highly perceptive passage, Moore offered a clear statement of the need for an integrated dialectical relationship between theory and practice. It is indeed noticeable that Moore is the only writer associated with SCM during this whole period to actually use the term 'praxis', and to offer an explanation of what it might mean in the context of radical Christianity:

"Theory should not arise as a last minute sort of self-justification. Practice has to rest on adequate theory just as much as the theory must arise from practice. In this insistence on adequate theory the marxists had a lot in common with the old leaders of the SCM, but the similarity was purely superficial. The theory they wanted was not abstract Biblical or Theological study - it had to be directly related to political praxis - that is it had to be the radical integration of political and theological theory so that there could also be a radical integration of political and christian praxis." [79]

Moore's analysis of the decline of SCM stressed the decision taken by many of the branches at University level to disband and instead put their energies into general student activism in the post-68 period. Moore was highly critical of this abandonment of SCM, and claims that it achieved nothing of any value:

"Nothing changed fundamentally because its members have left the SCM in the lurch - those who have left it are still middle class, only now without the SCM - BIG DEAL! Of course there may be other reasons for leaving the SCM or breaking it up - but let us not pretend that those reasons are Marxist revolutionary ones - chosen in the interests of a classless society." [80]

Later on in the article he argued that:

"They are no alternatives for the vast majority of people in society...So we have to be on our guard against putting all our energies into 'alternatives' at the expense of the political struggle for human rather than capital

control over every means of production. Thus our role is not to create liberating 'hide-outs' for ourselves." [81]

Here we can detect a thinly-veiled attack on Wick - as a 'hide-out' - and its ethos. It is thus further evidence of the turning tide. Moore wanted the SCM to become a much more explicitly political organisation, and to have a role in "raising the consciousness of the petit-bourgeoisie", instead within three years the SCM was to abandon the *Wick* 'experiment' entirely, and return almost entirely to its previous role as a campus-based federation of ecumenical Christians.

The 1976 General Assembly saw the issue of 'community' being re-defined. Instead of finding its expression in small commune-based groupings, along the lines advocated by Bob Whyte and others in 1969, increasingly it was coming to be seen in broader conceptual terms - as the wider social and political context within which to operate. In this sense then *Wick* was already being seen in some quarters as anachronistic, hedonistic and inward-looking, and its relevance to the wider aims of SCM - and its political role - were already being questioned, just two years after it had been established.

One further article, *Secularisation: Some of the theological implications*, written by Peter Gee, is especially interesting for the perspective it offers on the theological debates within SCM at this time. For the most part explicit theological debates were noticeable by their absence at *Wick*. The day-to-day concerns of running the headquarters, dealing with the financial situation, coping with personal relationships, etc. left little time for theological discussion. Gee, however, suggests that this neglect was particularly unfortunate, since it helped to produce a situation in which the SCM both locally and nationally was being left without a clear sense of purpose, and was no longer able to lucidly explain its role, to itself, or to others. This had the effect of allowing the Christian Unions at a campus level, to increase their strength:

"Most of us are familiar with a typical Christian Union emphasis on personal morality combined with an emotional evangelism. Superficially at least their response seems to have been numerically successful." [82]

He points to the demise of *Slant*, which for all its shortcomings, was at least one space where theological discussion had taken place, as part of the increasing drift towards secularisation. He also refers to the 'secular theologians' of the 1960s, citing in particular John Robinson, Thomas Altizer and William Hamilton, and Harvey Cox as having contributed to the confused situation. In their attempts to liberate theological thinking from its obsessions with a metaphysical 'God of the gaps', they had, according to Gee, vastly overstated the secularisation thesis. He singled out Harvey Cox, and *The Secular City*, for special criticism, claiming that the call to "imaginative urbanity and mature secularity" was misguided, and had the effect of replacing one rigid (religious) agenda with another equally rigid (secular) agenda:

"We are confronted by the need for self-criticism, and a degree of humility. What is the purpose in exchanging for the oppression and de-humanisation of conservative religiosity, the oppression of a rigidly dogmatic radical Christianity? The question is really whether we can create a forum in which the critical theological analysis of society can take place, progressing beyond traditional clichés of un-sophisticated Marxists."[83]

This is a position which Tim McLure also recognised:

"It never cease to amaze me how a lot of people just cannot see that their form of radical christianity is just another fundamentalism. It's asking for total commitment to all these utterly and unarguably self-evident right causes. I remember soon after I arrived, there was a lot of that still around...It was a kind of radical fundamentalism, or fundamental radicalism, or something like that. The thing that got me was you could - religiously speaking - you could be absolutely as vague and woolly and non-committal and ecumenical as you liked, to the farthest bounds - anyone could come in if they were exploring this and that, that's OK. But if you came in and said that politically speaking you were exploring this and that, you were damned, you weren't 'one of us', you didn't know you were saved." [84]

McLure also suggested that the longer term effects of this abandonment of theology, and engagement with secular politics, have been to greatly increase the confusion that surrounds any discussion of 'radical' theology:

"I think there is an awful lot of the same guff being churned out - I mean the Bishop of Durham business, and the Don Cuppitt business - as if people are just unaware of what is being said, and what has happened in the past. I see that as a great down-side, and that makes me, as far as SCM is concerned, really sad. I think if the SCM had been more of what the SCM traditionally had been for each generation - if it had been there for the 60s and 70s generation as a considerable force, then there may have been more people in the churches today who are accustomed to dealing with these ideas, and in treating them creatively...But one sees so few signs of that happening." [85]

Gee's sideswipes at 'unsophisticated Marxists' appear misplaced, however, since none of the *Wick* community would ever have claimed to be Marxist, sophisticated or otherwise, but his critique of the absence of engagement with theology is yet further evidence of the growing concern within SCM about the direction it was taking. Gee was not alone, however, in wishing to raise theological issues. Also included in the conference papers was a discussion document from the WSCF entitled *Christian Witness in the Struggle for Liberation*. There are two key passages in this document:

"We believe very strongly that our theological past inhibits our participation in the process of liberation, and, therefore, does not provide resources for social transformation." [86]

This explicit rejection of 'traditional' theology and recognition of its inhibitive character is interesting - but what is missing is any discussion of what a radical (politically grounded) theology might be like. Criticising established theology is fine, but without any discussion of alternatives it left any self-proclaimed Christian organisation to operate in a vacuum. It is much easier to get a sense of what the radical Christians were opposed to, but much harder to get a clear sense of what they wanted instead:

"There is no doubt about the things against which we fight in the Church. We are more than painfully aware of, and opposed to, ideological, political, economic and cultural ties of most of our Churches with the dominant classes in our respective societies, with our Churches approval and even support of capitalistic and imperialistic designs in the world, and of the moralistic preaching, the quietism, and the presumptions of equidistance and neutrality to political issues in the name of so-called evangelical justice that are so common and regnant in the current expressions of Church life." [87]

It is striking how little these sentiments had advanced from the critiques being offered by CHURCH, and in the pages of *Roadrunner*, in 1968/9. In the previous chapter on *Roadrunner* it was suggested that the reluctance of the radicals to engage with and respond to the 'secular theology' of the 1960s contributed to the eventual demise of the project. It was argued that they needed to recognise the opportunities it offered them for helping to make clear the connections between their commitments to radical politics/action, and their faith as Christians. Gee's argument reaches a different conclusion - that instead they needed to return to the 'reality' of people's need for unambiguous moral guidance - but in both instances the emphasis on the importance of theology for this praxis of radical Christianity is clear.

SCM held a few further conferences during this period – notably the *'New Heaven New Earth'* conference held in Manchester in December 1976, and attended by 350 students. This was the beginning of the SCM/Denominational Chaplaincy joint congresses - which marked a turning point in the relationships between SCM and the chaplains - and saw the establishment of better working relationships, especially at branch level. But by 1977-8 it was becoming ever more apparent that the *structure of feeling* was radically transforming in the wider youth culture. Punk rock had been spawned by a younger disaffected generation, deeply dissatisfied by what they perceived as the hopelessness of both their own situation, and an anger at the previous generation of 'hippies', for their naivety and lack of realistic understanding. In a very real sense, "Love is All You Need" was no longer a valid proposition. The response of the Christian radicals was to engage in what can be seen in hindsight as desperate strategic measures, designed to maintain the *Wick* community, but in a much more organised way. The radical urge was becoming muted by the practical demands of managing a national organisation in transition.

A Wick Management Committee (WMC from now) was established for the first time, with a remit to exercise more direct control over the

operational activities of Wick. [88] The membership of the WMC involved all the permanent *Wick* residents, i.e. associate staff and long term visitors. At its first meeting in May 1978 the WMC discussed a range of issues related to the commune and its relationships with SCM:

"The relation between Wick and the community houses might be developed more (the analogy with a monastic house and daughter houses was drawn). This could bring about greater personal support, interchange of ideas, spirituality.There should be a clear decision whether Wick is to be a community or a staff residence. For a community to work people must come specifically for that purpose not just because they are members of SCM staff. There was some consensus that a priority should be placed on creating a community at Wick but the identity, purpose and exact constitution was not clear (e.g. whether it would be an extended community including people living outside)." [89]

This extract indicates that the exact purpose of *Wick* still remained highly uncertain, and that many of the same arguments were being presented again and again. The original impetus which had buoyed up the resident commune in the early stages, was rapidly dissipating, and much more attention was being paid to specific detailed arrangements. The first period at *Wick* was a largely free-wheeling affair, where people who shared common aims and commitments came together to live and work under the auspices of the SCM. That founding energy had now been replaced by a more pragmatic set of concerns, and the new emphasis was on regularising and structuring the 'experiment' to make it more orderly and manageable.

Around the UK SCM also operated a number of community houses at this time. Alongside seven freehold, and three leasehold properties, there were also other houses being rented on a local basis. These were distributed across the country including Bristol, Birmingham, Cardiff, London, Oxford, Sheffield, Edinburgh and Dublin. [90] The original intention had been for the community houses to operate as scaled down versions of *Wick*, but the lack of a campus structure had made this difficult to organise. Whilst some of the houses were occupied by SCM members, by no means all of them were, and they mostly provided cheap (though not free) student accommodation

making no discernable attempt to emulate the praxis of radical Christianity along the lines of the experiment at *Wick*.

The second meeting of the WMC took place on 8th July 1978. There was discussion of the new 'brief' for the resident community, but no formal decisions were made at this stage. Item 5 on the agenda notes that suggestions for a 'non-staff caucus of Wick residents' had been received. This is evidence of a growing tension between the staff members of SCM - some of whom had been appointed by the Trust Association - and the 'associate staff with central responsibility', as the resident commune were now being officially called. It was now as if two groups had emerged at *Wick*. One was the resident commune - still committed to the 'experiment in community', and exploring in practical ways the logic of a radical Christian praxis, the other group was the new staff members and increasingly the student members, who can be said not to have shared the same enthusiasm and fervour for the original aims of *Wick*, and increasingly sought a return to the vision of SCM as a national organisation, with closer links to the Churches and the campus chaplaincies. The resident commune was becoming more and more isolated, and its presence at the very centre of SCM was becoming harder to justify to the new generation of student members.

19th August 1978 saw the third, and as it turned out, final meeting of the WMC. The new 'brief' was discussed and approved. For the first time it listed specific individual responsibilities to be performed by the residents. [91] This formal allocation of individual responsibilities was designed to go some way towards explaining the work of the resident commune, and to justify its continued presence at *Wick*, to the wider membership of SCM. It is in sharp distinction to the collective ethos inherent in the earlier versions of the brief which had resisted allocating specific roles and responsibilities, as these were seen as running counter to the ideals of a commune environment. The ambition had been to develop a common awareness of the tasks that needed

undertaking, and build an atmosphere in which those tasks were performed collectively. Under increasing pressure to account for their activities, the WMC had little option but to formalise the roles, and allocate them to specific people.

There then followed a lengthy discussion of whether there should be a 'preamble' to the brief. In light of the difficulties that the previous preamble had given rise to this was obviously a sensitive issue. The minutes of the meeting reflect these sensitivities, but also refer to issues which further demonstrate the gap that now existed between the resident commune and the wider movement:

"The primary tasks of the community are to maintain the house and grounds and offer hospitality. It is presumed that they will make an effort to stay in touch with the wider SCM and SCM will make an effort to stay in touch with the community. Wick should be a place where the Christianity of the residents and guests can be supported and where there is time and space for it to manifest itself, but it is not expected that all members of the community be Christian or that services be held with particular frequency. It is hoped that Wick will be a learning centre and the specific first steps toward this include the sabbatical student scheme, a yearly conference at Wick, and the Resource Centre. The community are asked to initiate communication between themselves and the community houses, perhaps by having a meeting of all the houses with the Wick Community once a year. The community is asked to put on one conference a year at Wick, the topic to be chosen so as to be appealing to present members of SCM and the conference to be organised to include staff and students of SCM." (my emphases)[92]

What is clearly revealed here is that no longer was the resident commune the defining centre of the movement. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that it was being seen as a cuckoo in the nest. There was no formal structure suggested for communication between the resident commune and the wider membership - just a vague hope that both sides will 'make an effort to stay in touch'; there is no presumption about the faith of those involved; and the relationship between *Wick* and the community houses appears largely non-existent, since they are being asked - over four years after *Wick* had been set up - to 'initiate communication'.

In the end the final version of the 'preamble', which was presented to the General Assembly, contained none of these issues, preferring instead to offer a somewhat bland description, which did little to capture the spirit of *Wick*, or articulate the 'experiment' that it had been hosting:

"The old house at Wick Court should make a vital contribution to the life of the movement. It is a learning centre primarily through the less formal contacts between visitors and the resident community; offering a different aspect to the more formal conferences at the Tatlow Centre.
The house and grounds should be maintained so that those offered hospitality here will find it a restful and hospitable environment.
It is hoped that visitors searching for spiritual insight will be supported, as the residents themselves seek to experience their own spirituality. This way of life is lived out in the day to day tasks of caring for Wick, work for which the community requires of the wider SCM its practical, emotional and spiritual help." [93]

Gone are the ideals of communal living and sharing; gone too are the revolutionary aspirations and radical zeal - instead this makes the resident commune appear to be little more than caretakers of the property - janitors, and maintenance workers, not radical activists building a 'new heaven'. *Wick* had changed from being the central defining hub of the SCM to something more like a 'retreat' – a place of peace and quiet for contemplation, not the vibrant centre of a new radical Christian praxis. The stress and disillusonment that this significant re-conceptualisation caused the resident commune were indicated in the final paragraph of the brief:

"The committee feels it must be emphasised that work is carried out...dependent on the number of people actually living in the Community, the time available...and other aspects such as post Standing Committee depression, pre Wick Management Committee pressure, marital disputes, responsibilities of parenthood, conspiracy paranoia, illness, a desperate need for moments of privacy, and energy draining incidents such as planning to cook for 10 and then a rush to perform the loaves and fishes trick." [94]

By this stage the relationship between the *Wick* residents and the wider membership of SCM had reached such a low point that the September 1978 General Assembly refused to endorse either the new 'brief' or the preamble, and both documents were referred back to Standing Committee for further consideration Further meetings of the

Management Committee were planned for 4th November 1978 and 13th January 1979. As it turns out, however, this committee never met again, since at a staff meeting on the 16th September 1978, two days after the General Assembly, in a move that had clearly been planned beforehand, it was decided to establish a 'Think Tank' to review the whole operation at Wick - including staffing, the Tatlow Centre, the headquarters office, and the journal *Movement*. Though ostensibly not primarily concerned with the 'Associate Staff', it is apparent that the growing tensions between SCM and the resident commune were a major contributory factor. A report presented to the Easter 1979 General Assembly outlined the main concerns:

"Once they were brought to Standing Committee's attention, the issue of the amount of capital tied up in the Wick complex hit home. The judgement by the majority of Standing Committee was that, whether the details of the operation were sufficiently known by them or not, *and if they were not, that itself is evidence that Wick is not adequately communicating itself as the 'living centre' of the movement*, the returns to SCM in terms of services provided at Wick for the movement's work were not commensurate with those which could be provided by developing other aspects of the SCM from the returns on the investment on the stock market of the cash from a sale." [95] (my emphasis)

This was a devastating statement. It indicated the complete abandonment of the radical critique of capitalism which had characterised the General Assemblies over the previous five years, and demonstrates just how much the s*tructure of feeling* had changed. There is not even the vaguest hint of an anti-capitalist critique here - it is as if the '*Seeds of Liberation*' had never happened. From Huddersfield in 1973 to the General Assembly in 1979, a staggering shift in principles had taken place. For anyone to have even suggested that SCM should be maximising its stock market holding would have been tantamount to heresy in 1973. Clearly this was a move that had been long sought - by TAEC, the Trust Association itself, and their growing band of supporters within the wider movement. Seemingly unable to dislodge the 'cuckoos' by directly interfering in the financial running of the movement, they were able to bide their time and mobilise the central decision making body - the General Assembly itself.

The end - when it came - was swift. The WMC was effectively disbanded, and responsibility for *Wick* passed to the 'Think Tank'. In this way the last vestiges of influence had been wrested from the resident commune, and under the direct control of a new Standing Committee, the 'Think Tank' was allowed to take over. No members of the resident commune were invited to be part of the 'Think Tank', and when it delivered its report recommending the sale of *Wick*, Standing Committee moved fast to secure the necessary permissions from the Charity Commissioners and the Trust Association. There was some half-hearted discussion about whether Standing Committee on its own had the authority to put *Wick* on the market, but a proposal to refer the decision to the General Assembly due to take place at Easter 1979, was defeated nem. con. The reason given for this haste was that SCM needed to act quickly to switch financial support from "de-prioritised areas", e.g. *Wick*, and focus attention and funding on "prioritised areas, e.g. the regions, publications and projects."

The resident commune had been completely out-manouevered, and despite securing an admission from Standing Committee that "the decision [to sell Wick] would have been better made by General Assembly" [96] nonetheless Standing Committee stuck to its guns, and presented the decision to sell *Wick* as a *fait accomplis*.

Later in 1979 a decision was taken to finally establish a Finance Committee; "responsible for long-term investment policy, use of capital resources, fund raising and the acquisition and disposal of properties." The committee would prepare an annual budget, which could only be over-ruled by the General Assembly. The constitution for the committee explicitly stated that not more than three members could be from Standing Committee (i.e. current student members), whilst TAEC would nominate five members, each of whom had to be "persons having professional or financial qualifications." Thus, at last the responsibility for the financial affairs of the SCM were effectively taken away from the

Standing Committee, and entrusted to the hand of 'specialists', under the direct influence of TEAC. [97]

The final report on *Wick* attempted to provide an overview of the 'experiment in community'. Whilst this is one-sided, and (anonymously) written by someone clearly not in sympathy with the resident commune, it does give an insight into the unbridgeable gap that had opened up:

> "The Wick Community negotiated a 'brief' with Standing Committee. This 'brief' related to the lifestyle which the community members were to adopt. This lifestyle, embodying a search for a "personal politics" and the "spiritual dimensions of the political struggle", was designed to ensure that Wick saw itself as the living centre of the Movement.
> By these two factors a dynamic was somehow engendered which resulted in the alienation of those members of the community who were not salaried staff from those who were. Differences of politics between individuals contributed to this as did the transition which SCM is still working out from a focus for its work largely outside of the Church, to one largely inside of the Churches. Alongside this was the alienation of the whole community from the more pluralist, 'post-May-68', regionalising, student movement. Coupled with this were the growing tensions between the community, the headquarters office and the Tatlow Centre....In this situation people - (mainly) members of the community, salaried staff, associate staff and long term visitors, have got, and continue to get, hurt by themselves and by each other. 'Community' cannot be mandated." [98]

This summary is clearly a distortion, and pointedly ignores the quiet successes achieved by the *Wick* community, not least in terms of the space for quiet contemplation and reflection, plus spiritual regeneration, that it offered to all the people who visited it during its five year life span. But then it is almost impossible to measure such intangibles, and the external and internal pressures eventually proved too much to bear. A new dominant *structure of feeling* was already emerging - one that had little time for what it perceived as self-indulgence and hippy excess - a *structure of feeling* that was shortly to sweep Mrs Thatcher into power, and herald a wholly new phase in British social history.

Thus ended the *Wick* 'experiment in community'. The resident commune dispersed and the buildings were eventually bought in 1980 by two couples - Christopher & Gill David, and Nicholas & Hilary Chiswell - who

re-opened it as the 'Wick Court Centre', with as its stated aims: 'the advancement of education and religion including the provision of residential courses for young people.' It operates as an educational trust aimed at providing opportunities for disadvantaged children from inner city areas to spend time in a rural setting, and to develop their personal and spiritual growth. The trust - Wick Court Centre - is avowedly Christian in its ethos, but this is at an informal and non-denominational level, and not linked to any particular church structure. The site is largely as it was in the SCM days, although the vivid orange and green decor has been replaced with a more muted style of interior decoration, and the multi-coloured geometric designs in the main bedroom have been painted over long ago. The walled garden is no longer overgrown, and the dilapidated summer-house in the grounds has been lovingly restored. The conference centre built by resident commune remains, and enables the present owners to accommodate up to 50 visitors at any one time. There is an undoubted peace and tranquility about Wick Court. The main Jacobean house gives an air of grandeur, whilst the river and adventure playground are perfect for children (and adults!). It is fitting that in some ways the original spirit of the SCM initiative lives on at Wick Court - it is still a retreat, and a centre for relaxation, and personal growth.

ACHEIVEMENTS:

The lack of the 'radical integration' of theory and practice, called for by Moore, throughout the project of radical Christianity, from CHURCH, via *Roadrunner*, to *Wick*, goes some considerable way towards explaining the ultimate demise of the project. For the most part their activism was instinctive, rarely based on worked-through theoretical positions. The pasting of dollar bills on Bromley High Street, the Mayakovsky Square protest, the invasion of the Bishops' garden party, the occupation of the U.S. military chapel - all of these were gestures, publicity stunts, inspired pranks. They were important, but they didn't necessarily connect theory and practice, in terms of offering clear guiding principles for subsequent long-term action.

The three people who attempted to address these issues directly - Peter Lumsden, David Hart and Basil Moore - all did so in very different ways. Lumsden (who Hart described as an 'obsessive individual' [99]), focused on radical theology, but with little practical sense of how this could be transformed into action - the idea of a discussion group, *Kenosis*, was the best he could come up with, and even this never actually met! Hart, something of a maverick even in the early days of *Roadrunner*, did develop the connections more fully, but was ultimately too caught up in the institutional structures of being first a curate, then a chaplain, and either found it hard to extend beyond them, or rather that they constrained him, and beyond visiting *Wick* once had nothing other to do with it. Moore offered the most fully developed critique, but even this lacks specificity, and came too late. Had it been written in 1966, not 1976, then things might have been different - but this sort of speculation is not helpful, since it is unimaginable that it could have been thought, let alone written before the upheavals of the late 60s. After all we cannot expect him, or any of the others involved, to have had a crystal ball.

Assessments of *Wick* from those closely involved with it vary. Jan Broughton's view is that it could have continued to operate successfully as a commune, but that the lack of clear guiding principles coupled with the interpersonal stresses became too difficult to bear:

"I felt the national organisation possibly might not have been run from there, but Wick could have carried on. Wick being a conference centre, and a community centre. Whether the national organisation was still going was irrelevant. I mean, Golders Green was just a building, it was nothing else. It was just offices. The offices could be at Wick, at Birmingham, they could be anywhere. It didn't matter. Wick was quite a good place, because at least people could come and be together in nice surroundings, and things could happen there. So I felt Wick was a lot more positive than anything else that we could have come up with.
It failed because it was a group of people who had gone through a lot...Viv and I had gone through a lot. I mean, I can't speak for anybody else. But that, for me..the vision I had of Wick, and maybe what Viv had of Wick..was something I felt could have happened if we'd been in a different space from eachother. We were related..if we'd sorted out our relationship, or if Viv had run it, or if I had run it. I felt at that point..I

suppose if I'd run it, I would have run it differently to Viv. Totally differently actually.
If I was looking at it now, I'd look at it in a different light. And I would work at it from a different premise. Then, we just did it. Like with everything - we just did it, and from that we would see what would happen. I mean, it didn't work. It didn't work for many reasons, but sometimes the only way you can find out if it's going to work or not is by actually doing it. That's the same with personal politics as well - it's just going ahead and doing it, because you don't know how you're going to react until you are involved. I think one of the things I believed in while I was involved in communities, was that there needed to be a strong belief that we all held - and that would have kept us together. We didn't have that. O.K. we said we were christian, but actually not all of us were christian who lived within any of the communities we were in." [100]

John Careswell had a much more pessimistic opinion:

"Now Wick and SCM were about something happening from the top down, rather than from the bottom up. So it was about ideas, and working within an institution, rather than just living something. So if we'd all wanted to make Wick work, we'd have had to leave SCM and do it anyway...So in a sense it was always tainted from the beginning, and because we lacked sufficient psychological insight into our own make-up, and other peoples, it was, as I understand it now, doomed from the start because there wasn't that capacity to work with the unformed spirit. It was all formed. It was committees, it was bits of paper, it was our enormous egos, it was political infighting, and decisions on committees, and it was a body, a membership which was gathering twice a year and having power to make decisions, and so on, and so on. If it can work that way then fine. But I think it rarely does." [101]

Viv Broughton's view is that *Wick's* achievements need to be recognised in terms of the ways it encouraged personal growth, rather than as an institution:

"We took the view that the SCM was there to act as a place where people who'd just started to question and explore ideas, could go and find other people doing similar things, and be stimulated by lots of very, very interesting people. We felt that that was what the SCM had always been, it was just doing it in a different way. And so although you may not have had so many traditional university branches, they weren't there anyway. They'd declined before we came on the scene. We weren't interested in building up those little things around the local chaplain, but there were people on all campuses who felt involved in this, and subscribed to the magazine, and came to these big events.

E: So do you think Wick was a success?

V: Well..I don't know how you measure a success. I think it was an amazingly interesting period of time, thousands of people passed through

Wick, and I think that Wick itself was a catalyst for all kinds of things, in the same way that Iona was for me. I'm sure that hundreds of young people who passed through there were incredibly stimulated - and you will find people who spent time at Wick, and that really started them off on their own particular journeys. I think that that really is the role of organisations like that...You find people dotted all over the place who owe their education, their political and theological education, to being involved in organisations like that.
I suppose one of the common elements at Wick was that not many of us had anything to do with universities..we were just a kind of load of weirdos! [laughter] I mean I take the view that what students want is not some nice safe chaplain..they want to go somewhere and find all these weirdos! [laughter], and have a good argument, and sit down and have a long meal, and talk with everybody and enjoy it." [102]

Wick was always meant to be a project, rather than a final achievement. Together with the various community houses it was a vision of a non-hierarchical network, with an absent centre - existing only as peripheries - yet suffused with a set of common ideals and attitudes. Sadly, this vision was never achieved. The community houses quickly became sites for petty squabbles and rivalries (as did *Wick* itself), and without any form of effective communication between the various sites, the whole project lapsed. [103] *Roadrunner* was still in existence during the early part of this period, and could possibly have acted as a vehicle for the various houses to 'talk' to eachother, as a 'notice-board', but the new editorial team, based in Manchester, had nothing to do with *Wick*, and in reality little remained of the original magazine, beyond the name itself.

It is possible to suggest that if more energy had gone into really developing the *Liberated Church*, as a strong national and international network, then things might have turned out differently. Such a network might, for instance, have been much more flexible and able to respond the changing fluxes in contemporary culture, and ride the turbulent changes of the 1970s. At the same time, however, a network can be a lonely social space, if the only contact that people have with like-minded others is via a monthly magazine or the occasional conference. One clear advantage of a communal living arrangement is that it

provides a physical location where community can be experienced, and tested.

Three main points emerge from the 'experiment in community' which help to clarify it as both an attempt to articulate the radical Christian *structure of feeling*, and as a project that was unable to respond adequately to the changes taking place. The first lies in the ever-present conflict between the role of *Wick* as a headquarters for a national organisation, and as a community with a desire to explore its' own spirituality and political commitment. This tension was to permeate almost the whole of the time that the SCM spent at *Wick*, and despite initial optimism, led to bitter feuding. Then there is the extent to which *Wick* was able to operate as an exemplar, offering support and guidance to others attempting to establish similar communities. There were (as noted previously) some attempts to disseminate liturgies and other material, but these were not as sustained as had been originally envisaged. There were, though, opportunities for people to visit *Wick* itself, and many did so with enthusiasm. There is simply no way of measuring its impact on them. Finally, there is the sense in which *Wick* represented a moment of rupture in the radical Christian *structure of feeling*, which saw it not only becoming embroiled in damaging disputes, but ultimately losing contact with the changing radical Christian scene at a grass roots level.

Footnotes to Chapter Six:

[1] *Breakthrough*, No.23, April 1969, SCM archive.

[2] David Head, SCM Annual Report , 1969, p.17 in *Breakthrough*

[3] *What Must Be Done?* - *Breakthrough* No.23, April, 1969, pp.8-9

[4] ibid. Report of a group in Bangor, North Wales, p.8

[5] ibid. Report of a study group in Dundee, p.9

[6] ibid. Chris Holmes, p.9

[7] Chris Duncan - *Revolutionary Response: Permanent Challenge* , pp.37-39

[8] Bob Whyte - 'Commune' - *Breakthrough* No.23, April 1969, p.40

[9] *Probe* - November 1969. Published by CEM and SCM. SCM archive.

[10] The Christian Education Movement (CEM) was an initiative funded by SCM, and run by Bob and Maggi Whyte in South London. It offered short courses on practical aspects of community action, such as involvement in local housing campaigns.

[11] Ray Vincent in *Probe* p.33

[12] Peter Worsley, *Probe*, p.41

[13] See Musgrove, (1974) *Ecstasy and Holiness: Counter Culture and the Open Society* London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, p.135

[14] Chris Ross, *Probe* , p.56

[15] *Roadrunner*, No.5, p.12

[16] See *Probe*, p.44

[17] Rev. Nigel Melville, *Probe* , p.47

[18] Letter from 'Tony' (no last name), *Roadrunner*, no.13, p.4

[19] *The Political Stance of the SCM*, 1969,

[20] ibid. p.3

[21] "The world is at a crisis when we believe that Christians must attack or fail. Society has to be reordered. Through Christ men have the power to do it...The issue before us is a straight fight with the power of evil. We

are called to sacrifice, apparent failure, and distress of body and soul, for the joy of the triumph of Jesus Christ. We ask you to search out the truth, and in obedience to it take your side in the battle."
(SCM General Committee, 1919 - quoted in SCM Annual Report, 1969, p.17) SCM archive.

[22] *The Political Stance of the SCM*, 1969, pp.4-5. SCM archive.

[23] *World Student Christian Federation* – Federation News, (1969) No.3, p.13. SCM archive.

[24] The Annual Report of the SCM, 1975, p.4. SCM archive.

[25] Letter from David Head to Viv Broughton, 9th February 1972. SCM archive.

[26] See Green, J (1988), pp.208-210

[27] Dowell, G 'Youthquake Vibrations' in *Christian Renewal*, no.12,Winter 1973, p10

[28] Hart, D (1973) *Seeds of Liberation* conference programme, p.3, SCM archive.

[29] Duncan, C (1973) 'The liberation of everyday life', ibid. pp. 4-9

[30] Kee, A (1973) 'Christian Faith Revisited', ibid. p.11

[31] Polner, Murray and O'Grady, Jim (1997) *Disarmed and Dangerous: The Radical Lives and Times of Daniel and Philip Berrigan*, USA: Basic Books, pp.230-232

[32] Berrigan, D (1973) 'Life at the Edge', op.cit. pp.16-17

[33] "The SCM commune and conference centre & community" discussion document. SCM archive.

[34] One practical result of this desire was the establishment of the *Free University for Black Studies*, which was supported by SCM. It ran from premises in Notting Hill, London, and offered courses on Asian studies, Carribean studies, and African studies. Launched in 1970, it closed in 1972, when SCM withdrew funding.

[35] op.cit.

[36] See Appendix Two for a full list of Wick residents from 1974-1979

[37] The full list of freehold properties owned by SCM whilst based at Wick:
30 Marlborough Road, Oxford
13 Northbrook Road, London, SE13
38 Glebe Crescent, London NW4
12 The Drive, London NW11
43 Clive Street, Cardiff
67/9 College Road, Birmingham
14 Linden Road, Bristol
Wick Court
There were also long leases held on:
14 Prince Arthur Terrace, Dublin 6
23 Catherine Road, Sheffield
36 Warender Park Terrace, Edinburgh

Details taken from SCM archives.
See also Charity Commissioners file: 241896
Note: Two other files held by the Charity Commissioners relating to SCM during this period, 241897 A/1 & 241897 A/2, are not available for public inspection

[38] 'Seeds of Liberation' final accounts – SCM archives.

[39] *A Celebration of Free Communities*, January 2nd – 6th 1974, Birmingham

[40] *A Celebration of Free Communities,* Pre-conference papers, pp.5-7. SCM Archives

[41] Community – The Political Dimension, Paul Oestreicher, ibid. p.24

[42] ibid.

[43] ibid. p.26

[44] SCM Annual Report, 1973-74, pp.24

[45] ibid. p.25

[46] Viv Broughton, and later Jan, worked as Communication Secretaries, with responsibility for producing *Movement* (the journal of SCM). John Careswell was the Co-ordinating Secretary for the administrative affairs of SCM.

[47] Interview with Jan Broughton, 1995

[48] "The H.Q. Hassle - Twenty Ninth Installment - All Change for Bristol?????", April 1974. SCM archive

[49] SCM Financial Report, January 1975.

[50] "Wick Court...the new HQ" by John Careswell SCM Annual Report 1973-74, pp.6-7, SCM archive.

[51] ibid. pp. 6-7

[52] ibid.p.23

[53] SCM Annual Report for 1973-74 lists the following branches still active:
England – Aston ,Cambridge, Durham, Hull, & Oxford.
Scotland – St. Andrew's, Dundee, Edinburgh, & Glasgow
Wales – Bangor, Camarthen & Swansea

[54] SCM Annual Report 1975, pp.28-29 Jan Broughton is the only interviewee who was closely involved with this initiative. She recalls that Viv was unenthusiastic about it.

[55] ibid. p.28

[56] A brief account of the event is in *Movement* No.19, Jan/Feb 1975, p.xiii

[57] "*The Wick Community Music Week Songs*" – SCM Archive

[58] Extract from 'A Common Eucharist' – SCM Archive

[59] SCM Accounts, 1975-6. SCM archive

[60] SCM Annual Report 1973-74, pp.9 – 13

[61] ibid. p.1

[62] Tim McClure interview, 1992

[63] SCM Annual Report 1975, p.3

[64] Bob & Maggi Whyte in *Introducing SCM*, quoted in SCM Annual Report 1975, p.4

[65] SCM Annual Report 1975 pp.1-2

[66] The SCM rules at the time specified a figure of 60 voting members attending in order for quorum to be established, but there were only 44 present at this meeting of the Assembly. Given the parlous state of the branch structure nationally this was actually quite an achievement, but the constitutional rules had been drafted when there was a flourishing national network of local branches across the country. It was later

discovered that the figure given for quorum was inaccurate, and should have been 35, not 60. This would have meant that the General Assembly was quorate, despite the fact that everyone concerned with the dispute at the time believed it to be inquorate - since the mistake was not discovered until some time later.

[67] SCM Annual Report 1975

[68] ibid.

[69] Letter written by Dave Sinclair, 3rd November, 1975 - SCM archive

[70] The Trust Dispute. SCM archives

[71] Unfortunately no copy of the 'Carey Report' exists in the SCM archive.

[72] Richard Zipfel's letter, 5th April 1976 – SCM archive

[73] Interestingly the minutes of this meeting also refer to Bob Whyte (ex-SCM, though by now a member of the World Student Christian Federation executive) attacking British and Irish SCM for their lack of direction as national organisations. It is worth remembering that Bob Whyte was one of the original people arguing in favour of the experiment in community, yet it now appears that he, along with Gillian Birkby, had become one of Wick/SCM's sternest critics.

[74] Programme for General Assembly 1976, p.2 - SCM archive

[75] Interview with Tim McClure, 1992

[76] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994

[77] Jan Broughton recalled specific tensions between Colin Hodgetts and Viv Broughton, plus difficulties between Richard Zipfel and some of the others.

[78] Interview with Jan Broughton, 1995

[79] Basil Moore - *SCM -Left in the lurch or Left in the middle?*, p.13, from *The Christian Presence in Higher Education* , General Assembly of the SCM, September 1976. SCM archive

[80] Basil Moore - *SCM -Left in the lurch or Left in the middle?*, p.14

[81] ibid. p.17

[82] 'Secularisation: some of the theological implications' - by Peter Gee. *The Christian Presence in Higher Education*, SCM p.9

[83] ibid. p.10

[84] Interview with Tim McLure, 1992

[85] ibid.

[86] Christian Witness in the Struggle for Liberation - a discussion document of the WSCF, in *The Christian Presence in Higher Education* papers, pp.25-26.

[87] ibid. p.26

[88] The Wick Management Committee was set up by the General Assembly, and chaired by Richard Zipfel. It met on three occasions in 1978 - 6th May, July 8th, August 19th.

[89] WMC minutes – May 6th 1978 – SCM Archive

[90] See footnote 37 of this chapter for a full list.

[91] There were five full individual roles, plus two half roles:
Accounts - to prepare detailed accounts, instead of the ad hoc 'kitty' system that had hitherto operated.
Vegetable garden and grounds - to co-ordinate the work
House - to co-ordinate upkeep, renovation, etc.
Printing - including copywriting, layout, design, etc.
Conference centre co-ordinator - not responsible for the Tatlow Centre (which was now run separately) but to act as a liaison between the Tatlow Centre and the resident community.
Car (half role)- responsible for maintenance, etc.
Guest Person (half role) - preparing rooms, welcoming visitors, 'being attentive', etc.
WMC minutes – 19th August 1978 – SCM Archive

[92] Minutes of WMC – 19th August - W118 – SCM Archive

[93] Wick Community brief – final version, presented to General Assembly, September 1978 – SCM Archive

[94] ibid.

[95] "Wick Court and the Tatlow Centre - SCM and the future of its headquarters" - paper presented to General Assembly, Easter 1979, p.3 - SCM Archive

[96] Minutes of Standing Committee - February 1979, S1439 – SCM Archive

[97] Minutes of AGM dated 29th September 1979. Charity Commissioners file: 241896

[98] "The future of SCM and its headquarters" – paper presented to General Assembly, Easter 1979 – SCM Archive

[99] Interview with David Hart, 1994

[100] Interview with Jan Broughton, 1995

[101] Interview with John Careswell, 1995

[102] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994

[103] See appendix twelve.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION:

This overview of a distinctive moment in the history of radical Christianity during the late 1960's and into the 1970's illustrates the deep sense of commitment, passion and energy that motivated so many of those involved for so long. Whilst it may be tempting to dismiss these efforts as youthful excess – attempts to kick over the traces – that is not a realistic assessment, and massively ignores the real achievements of CHURCH, *Roadrunner* and *Wick* in firstly identifying a constituency and then engaging in a sustained process of finding appropriate ways to communicate their collective desires to enact radical change. What can also not be overstated is the depth and honesty of their faith and their overwhelming belief in the necessity of developing more genuinely egalitarian and co-operative structures to adequately celebrate this faith. Certainly there were some dead ends and blind alleys along the journey but the lasting impression is of their sincerity and optimism, in the face of some considerable criticism and obstruction.

The first phase of the radicals activities - the CHURCH phase – was arguably most directly attuned to the prevailing counter culture's *structure of feeling*, with its' emphases on hippy symbolism, playpower, street events, and situationist pranks. The second phase – *Roadrunner* - which represented a turn to a more established forum for communication, arguably began too late. Although in many ways resembling other 'underground' papers/magazines, *Roadrunner* found it hard to contain the tensions between a commitment to radical politics, and their faith as Christians. Many church-goers and younger members of the clergy whilst in broad sympathy with *Roadrunner's* stance in opposing the power of the Church Commissioners, and focusing attention on the Wilson Government's complicity in the Vietnam war, found it increasingly difficult to accept the more 'revolutionary' rhetoric that began to emerge. At the same time the more politically radical elements in the editorial group were increasingly frustrated by the interminable debates about

ecclesiastical structures, which appeared parochial, depressingly familiar in their circularity and narrowly defined. The broader *structure of feeling* was changing, and the dramaturgy of the 1960s was being replaced by a harder edged, and more pragmatic 1970s. The end of the Vietnam War meant that a central focal point for dissent and activism disappeared, whilst in the UK, the election of the Heath Government, saw a resurgence of industrial disputes. [1]

Roadrunner became a parish magazine without a parish. The *Liberated Church* was really a rhetorical trope, and never a fully-fledged reality on the ground. The original editorial group fragmented, thus the decision to move on was perhaps inevitable. The Manchester *Roadrunner* never really captured the energy and commitment of the London *Roadrunner*, and whilst in many ways a better magazine, in terms of its journalism and discussion of global issues, it lacked the 'fire in the belly' that its founders brought to it.

The final phase – *Wick* - was a retreat from the public politics of CHURCH and *Roadrunner*, to a commune-based 'experiment in community', coupled with the stresses of running the SCM. As a continuation of their radical perspective it was a logical development, but in terms of connecting to the broader emergent *structure of feeling* it was probably a move in the wrong direction; it was a disengagement more in keeping with radical Anabaptist sentiment than a revolutionary political movement. More and more the 1970s saw a refinement and rejection of the hippy idealism of the 1960s. In music and fashion, for example, the psychedelia of Acid Rock gave way to the glitter of Glam Rock, and 'teeny boppers' replaced the now ageing flower children as the prime movers of pop culture. By 1976 an even harder aspect was beginning to emerge - one which those at *Wick* show no evidence of having grasped at all. Glam rock transformed into Punk, which, mewling and puking, focused its angry energy into a public display of Art School anarchy. If the *structure of feeling* of the 1960s had been located in the rural idyll (even in an inner city squat), the *structure of feeling* of the later 1970s

was essentially urban - and offered an explicit rejection of the rural fantasies of the hippy communes.

This thesis illustrates the overwhelming extent to which so many of the radical Christians' actions, plans, hopes, writings, dreams, even feelings, were intertwined with other actions, thoughts, dreams and feelings taking place at and around the same time. It's not just that there was a common concern over topical issues – Vietnam, South Africa, poverty, homelessness – nor is it simply a matter of shared presentational techniques – writing style, graphic design, typography, fashion, theatrical protests. Rather there was a discernable shared idealistic impulse, a grasping for understanding and searching for solutions, a desire to explore news forms of living and working, in the hope of building what they envisioned as a more enlightened and less coercive future society.

What also emerges from the study of these groups and the period during which they were active, is a sense of structure. To be sure, there is much that is random and opportunistic, much that is ephemeral and whimsical, but there is much more that is connected and shared. These connections are fascinating, not just for what they reveal about this particular period and the thoughts and feelings of those involved in it, but they are also fascinating for what they reveal about the process of cultural change, about the dynamics of cultural production and reproduction, and about the strands that link community and identity.

Making sense of these connections has involved utilising Raymond Williams' concept of *structures of feeling*. This is, as we have seen, a sometimes slippery formulation, which has had its' champions and detractors. It can be argued, however, that the slipperiness of the concept is one of its' strengths. Since what is under investigation is 'feeling', it might be expected that this is hard to accurately define, and whilst 'structure' suggests solidity or at least shape, this too is more fluid than fixed, evolving not resolved.

Fred Inglis makes the point that:

" 'Structure of feeling' connotes holism, totality as the philosophers said. It implies that to understand our moment of history we shall need the comprehension provided by as large a movement of sympathetic feeling as we are capable of. Only full feeling can grasp the good. To have that capacity, Williams goes on to tell us, we shall need the help of that 'knowable community' hidden somewhere in the unplumb'd, salt, estranging sea of the modern city and its circumambient nation-state. If you know of such a community, its friendships, customs, and the poetics of its place in history and geography, you will be able to feel the feelings you will need in order to act rightly and live well." [2]

The Liberated Church was one attempt to provide a unifying discourse – an ideological umbrella that could provide a sufficient identifying structure for the broad non-church radical Christian constituency, though it too had its radical dissenters. As shown earlier, on the one hand there were those who simply rejected it as a poor substitute for the existing church, and who felt that the best, indeed only way to express their radical commitment was by remaining within the 'bones of the monster', but there were also others who felt deeply critical of the lack of ambition, the sheer vagueness of whatever it was that the *Liberated Church* claimed to offer. [3]

In similar ways *Wick* was clearly an attempt to build a 'knowable community' - but the tightrope between 'accessibility' and the community was always a precarious walk. *Wick* was perhaps, in the end, too remote and inaccessible - both geographically, and emotionally. Getting there was difficult, and once there 'getting in' was even harder. It was a brave and honest attempt - but it does raise the issue of whether a knowable community can ever be artificially constructed. For Williams it is clear, especially in his novels, that the knowable community is 'rooted' [4] - the connections of place go deep - *Wick* was a somewhat rootless community - it had no history, and no connections with the place. It had little if anything to do with the local populace in the immediate area, and its connections to the student population of Bristol and Bath were never fully defined or developed. Yet despite these problems it did provide many hundreds of people with massively important opportunities to

develop their faith in a supportive and reflective environment.

These debates about community/accessibility never became fully resolved, and this can be seen to have contributed to a lack of clarity about aims and tactics for the radical Christians. That does not mean, however, that their efforts to express their feeling were failures, or that they had no further relevance or influence.

The emerging *structure of feeling* in the 1960's and 70's sought to find expression across a broad range of cultural practices. Whilst many of these struggled to become clearly articulated, there are other aspects of the period which have thrived. For example, the style of much contemporary evangelical worship draws heavily on the innovations first adopted during the 1960's, and pioneered by the Jesus Movement that flowered at that time. Ward points out how the Jesus Movement had a long-term impact on the culture of the evangelical church [5], and goes on to argue that organisations such as Musical Gospel Outreach (MGO) and the magazine *Buzz*, continue to exert an enormous influence more than 30 years later:

"...these have had a tremendous impact on present-day styles of worship, theology and ministry in the evangelical constituency." [6]

This is an example of an emergent *structure of feeling* which placed considerable importance on engaging with popular cultural forms and practices, and adopting them for use in the context of Christian worship, successfully making the transition to becoming dominant.

The radical Christians, however, were less successful in making this transition, and by the time of the final demise of *Wick Court*, most of the energy and enthusiasm that had buoyed them over the previous twelve years had dissipated. The individuals most closely involved drifted apart – the culmination of a process that had begun much earlier - and devoted their attentions to other, mostly secular spheres of activity. [7] Some of that earlier passion did, however, continue to inspire others committed to radical political action in the context of the Christian faith.

Morris Dickstein, in response to the question of the legacy of the sixties, offers the view that:

"The sixties left behind not a mass movement but a deep sense of scepticism and suspicion directed at our military and political leaders, especially on questions of war and peace, on environmental issues, on official lying and corruption, and on threats to individual rights." [8]

One notable instance of this was the short-lived magazine *A Pinch of Salt* published during the late 1980's, edited by a young Christian anarchist called Stephen Hancock, who at the time was sharing a flat with Peter Lumsden, one of the original *Roadrunner* editors. In design terms the magazine was heavily influenced by *Roadrunner* [9], and in July 1989 it even used the same front cover that had appeared on *Roadrunner* No.4 in July 1969, with the 'Fierce Dancing' slogan, but with the faces of Margaret Thatcher and Neil Kinock superimposed on the original image. [10] The articles in *A Pinch of Salt* reflected some contemporary concerns, such as opposition to the Poll Tax, and campaigns against animal testing, but there were also numerous reprints of articles from *Roadrunner*, and a good deal of coverage of the *Plowshares* movement.

Developed by Berrigan brothers in the USA, this movement was named after the calls in Isaiah (2:4) and Micah (4:3):

"And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Throughout the 1980's and into the 90's, *Plowshares* actions involved protestors entering various military establishments to carry out acts of symbolic disarmament. [11] This often involved using hammers to damage nuclear missiles, or the cockpits of aeroplanes, and then pouring blood over them. In the USA Phil Berrigan and others were arrested and imprisoned several times for their involvement in such actions. [12] In the UK the movement attracted fewer supporters and

less media attention but did inspire similar protests. In 1991 *A Pinch of Salt* editor Stephen Hancock together with a friend, Mike Hutchinson, broke into Upper Heyford US Air Force base, and symbolically disarmed a F-111 fighter-bomber, by smashing the control panel in the cockpit, with hammers. They were sentenced to 7 years in prison, and whilst serving his sentence Hancock had a letter published in *The Guardian* in which he quoted from Micah, and went on to argue that:

"This is the vision we were trying to enflesh, albeit clumsily, with our household hammers...This biblical vision is not just beautiful poetry, it is a vital imperative if we are to survive on this planet with any humanity." [13]

The echoes of *Roadrunner* are unmistakeable, and during an interview that took place before his *Plowshares* action, Hancock acknowledged that it had been an enormously important influence on his thinking:

"I heard about the *Catonsville Roadrunner*, and looked it up in the copyright library, and spent many an hour just looking through all the back issues. Very interested in the parallels with *Pinch of Salt*, and what ground they'd covered, and what ground they hadn't covered, and stuff. And inspired, and slightly depressed as well. You know they went through loads of phases, from being quite political, to being really hippy and to being really puerile, and to being quite sensible community-based politics. I remember thinking, 'Oh! it's been tried before'." [14]

Tony Jasper, Christian writer and broadcaster, who at one time sold copies of *Roadrunner* on the Portobello Road in London, felt that its' achievements were minimal: "I don't think it was important really...it used to annoy people." [15] Others such as John Careswell also felt that the whole project was flawed: "We were doing what was expected of us. We were moaning, we were shouting, which is what every generation does about the generation that it feels is keeping it down. Nothing's changed." [16]

Other's, however, hold a more encouraging view. Ken Leech, whilst sceptical about the radicals' importance at the time, nonetheless felt they made change possible for others:

"I don't think they had much impact...in the short term anyway. In the long term they may have helped to create a space for other people. I wonder whether some of the fringe movements of the church could have

happened quite so easily without their clearing a space. They helped to make it possible for other groups of a similar kind to emerge without the...I was going to say 'hostility', but I'm not sure that they received a lot of hostility, I think they were regarded as not important enough...
Though I think it did actually create a kind of confidence amongst grass roots Christians that they could by-pass the denominational divides. I don't think *Roadrunner* in itself did that, but I think it did help to create the possibility of that happening at local level. I mean if you look at something like intercommunion. Intercommunion has become much more widespread at a local level, even though the hierarchy pretend it isn't happening, and you'll get Anglicans and Methodists receiving communion in the Roman Catholic church, and as long as the Cardinal doesn't know, then he doesn't mind. If somebody asks him for permission then he forbids it (laughter) but he knows perfectly well what's going on! Now it would be silly to suggest that there was a direct link between *Roadrunner* and that, but I think it was part of a process by which grassroots communities were doing it themselves, and not waiting." [17]

Val Hart also observed:

"We did used to have letters coming in from all over the country, and that was heartening. That was interesting. Yes, I think it felt for a long while as though it was really going to go somewhere, and be an enormous thing. I don't know really...I wonder what would have happened if it had lasted a bit longer?" [18]

Perhaps the clearest exposition of the motivations that informed the radical Christians was offered by Viv Broughton:

"My own feeling was that Christianity is not really a religion, not in the sense of Hinduism or Islam, it's not a set of rules, it's a faith. Judaism was the religion, but Christ really transcended that, and revealed something that was really higher than religion, that required the individual to respond in faith, and not by rules. That's why, I think...all the stuff about you mustn't pick corn on the sabbath...you know, Jesus deliberately breaking those taboos - that was a big impulse behind CHURCH, because it wasn't just about running around and being wacky, it was deliberately doing that - breaking the corn on the sabbath. We were saying 'This isn't what Christianity is about - obeying these little moral codes', well, not even moral codes, the conventions and doctrines and rules of behaviour, it's about taking the spirit of what Christ was about and letting that spirit work through you, in response to whatever situation you find yourself in. So, I suppose that is as close to the theology of CHURCH as I can get, in a nutshell. It seems to me that is the genuine thing - that's what Christ was about. If you're going to be a Christian you've got to figure out what He was about, so you have to ask, 'What does that mean to me? What do I do in response to that? Do I run

off and work for Billy Graham or do I connect with that and try and respond in the way that was intended?' So, that was it, basically." [19]

Footnotes for Chapter Seven:

[1] Gilbert, M (1999) *A History of the Twentieth Century – Volume Three: 1952-1999*, London: Harper Collins

[2] Inglis, F (1995) *Raymond Williams,* London: Routledge, p.300

[3] One notable exponent of this position was Robin Percival, a former member of the *Fellowship of Reconciliation*, and co-editor of *Peace News*, who welcomed the splits taking place in the established church, and found evidence of 'God's hand in the schismatic break up of the church, and not in its unity'. RR36, p.11

[4] See for example Williams' final two-part novel *People of the Black Mountains* - which covers an historical period from 23,000 BC to 1415AD!

[5] Ward, Pete (1996) *Growing Up Evangelical: Youthwork and the Making of a Subculture*, London, SPCK, p.87

[6] ibid. p.94

[7] Viv Broughton focused on his love of Gospel Music, publishing widely on the subject, and becoming involved as a promoter and studio manager. Jan Broughton moved to Bristol where she became involved with a Legal Aid centre; John Careswell became involved in Jungian philosophy, and trained as an acupuncturist; Peter Lumsden continued to write occasional self-published pamphlets, and to talk about Christian Atheism at Speakers Corner in Hyde Park; and David Hart became a Poetry Officer for West Midlands Arts.

[8] Dickstein, M (1989) 'After Utopia: The 1960s Today' in Tischler, B L (ed) (1992) *Sights on the Sixties* (New Brunswick, USA: Rutgers University Press) p.14

[9] Interview with Stephen Hancock, 1990

[10] See appendix thirteen.

[11] *Plowshares Disarmament Actions*, a pamphlet published by Art Laffin of the Isaiah Peace Ministry, claims that by 1987 over 70 people had taken part in 19 separate plowshares-disarmament actions.

[12] Polner, Murray and O'Grady, Jim (1997) *Disarmed and Dangerous: The Radical Lives and Times of Daniel and Philip Berrigan*, USA: Basic Books

[13] *The Guardian*, 12th October 1991

[14] Interview with Stephen Hancock, 1990

[15] Interview with Tony Jasper, 1993

[16] Interview with John Careswell, 1995

[17] Interview with Ken Leech, 1996

[18] Interview with Val Hart, 1995

[19] Interview with Viv Broughton, 1994

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APPENDIX ONE:

THE CATONSVILLE ROADRUNNER **ISSUE DATES & EDITORS**

Notes: New members of the editorial team for each issue are listed in **bold.**
Only the first 16 issues were dated on the front cover. BLPES stands for British Library of Political and Economic Science, housed at the London School of Economics, and indicates the date the magazine was received by the library staff.

1) *'Radical Christian Monthly'* April 1969

Editors:
Dave Poolman, John Careswell, Viv Broughton, Leonardo Brown, David Hart, Stephen Green.
Secretary: **Janette Hammond** Business: **Eric and Frances Loe**

2) *'Revolutionary Christian Monthly'* May 1969

Editors:
Dave Poolman, **Valerie Hart**, David Hart, Viv Broughton, Janette Hammond, Stephen Green, John Careswell, **Larry Law**, Leonardo Brown
Business: Eric and Frances Loe

3) *'Revolutionary Christian Monthly'* June 1969

Editors: Dave Poolman, Valerie Hart, David Hart, Viv Broughton, Janette Hammond, Stephen Green, John Careswell, Larry Law, Leonardo Brown
Business: Eric and Frances Loe

4) *'Revolutionary Christian Monthly'* July 1969

Editors: Dave Poolman, Valerie Hart, David Hart, Viv Broughton, Janette Hammond, Stephen Green, John Careswell, Larry Law, Leonardo Brown
Promotion: **Jill Green** Business: Eric and Frances Loe

5) *'Revolutionary Christian Monthly'* August 1969

Editors: Dave Poolman, Valerie Hart, David Hart, Viv Broughton, Janette Hammond, **Michael Carr**, John Careswell, Larry Law, Leonardo Brown
Promotion: Jill Green Business: Eric and Frances Loe

6) *'Christian Extravaganza'* September 1969

Editors: Dave Poolman, Valerie Hart, David Hart, Viv Broughton, Janette Hammond, Michael Carr, John Careswell, Larry Law, Leonardo Brown
Promotion: Jill Green Business: Eric and Frances Loe

7) '*Monthly Jesus Show*' October 1969

Editors: Janette Hammond, Dave Poolman, David Hart, Viv Broughton, Michael Carr, Larry Law, Leonardo Brown
Promotion: Jill Green Subscriptions: Eric and Frances Loe

8) '*People Encyclical*' November 1969

[No titles used]:
Geof Bevan, Viv Broughton, **Barry Brown**, Michael Carr, Janette Hammond, David Hart, Larry Law, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Jill Green, **Peter Lumsden**, Dave Poolman

9) '*Issue no.9*' December 1969

"Issue No. 9 out of:"
Geof Bevan, Viv Broughton, Mike Carr, Jill Green, Janette Hammond, David Hart, **Phil Kellingly**, Larry Law, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Peter Lumsden, Dave Poolman, **Simon Stanley**, John Careswell

10) '*No.10*' January 1970

"Issue no.10 out of:"
Geof Bevan, Viv Broughton, Mike Carr, Jill Green, Jan Hammond, David Hart, Phil Kellingly, Larry Law, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Peter Lumsden, Dave Poolman
In the USA: **Melinda Harley**

11) '*No.11*' February 1970

"Issue No. 11 out of:"
Geof Bevan, Viv Broughton, Leonardo Brown, Mike Carr, Jill Green, Jan Hammond, David Hart, Phil Kellingley, Larry Law, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Peter Lumsden, Dave Poolman
In the USA: Melinda Harley

12) '*No.12*' March 1970

"Issue No.12 out of:"
Geof Bevan, Viv Broughton, Leonardo Brown, **Jonathan Carpenter**, Mike Carr, Jill Green, Jan Hammond, David Hart, Phil Kellingley, Larry Law, Dave Poolman
In the USA: Melinda Harley

13) '*Issue no.13*' *COSMIC* April 1970
[note: Front cover is wrongly dated April 1969]

"Issue No. 13 out of:"
Geof Bevan, Viv Broughton, Leonardo Brown, Jonathan Carpenter, Mike Carr, Jill Green, Janette Hammond, David Hart, Larry Law, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, **Anna Lumsden**, Peter Lumsden, Dave Poolman, **Ralph Smith**, not to mention the Broughton menagerie
In the USA: Melinda Harley

14) *'Issue no.14'* *COSMIC* May 1970

[No titles used:]
Geof Bevan, **Toby Birch**, Viv Broughton, Leonardo Brown, John Careswell, Jonathan Carpenter, Mike Carr, Jill Green, Janette Hammond, David Hart, Larry Law, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Dave Poolman, **Mike Sheppard**, Ralph Smith, Popeye the cat, Dan the hamster and the entire British nation
In the USA: Melinda Harley

15) *'No.15'* June 1970

"Issue 15 out of the twelve apostles:"
Toby Birch, Viv Broughton, Leonardo Brown, Jon Carpenter, Mike Carr, Jill Green, Jan Hammond, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, David Poolman, Mike Sheppard, Ralph Smith and **Jesus**, without whom none of this would have been possible
In the USA: Melinda Harley

16) *'No.16'* July 1970

"Issue No. 16 from:"
Geof Bevan, Toby Birch, Viv Broughton, Leonardo Brown, Jonathan Carpenter, Mike Carr, Janette Hammond, David Hart, Larry Law, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Dave Poolman, Mike Sheppard, Ralph Smith
In the US: Melinda Harley

17) *'17'* [No date - 7th August 1970 BLPES]

"Made by (amongst others):"
Larry Law, Toby Birch, Jill Green, Valerie Hart, Dave Poolman,Mike Carr, Viv Broughton, Jan Hammond, Jonathan Carpenter, Leonardo Brown, **Dorothy Bishop**, Mike Sheppard, David Hart.
USA: Melinda Harley

18) *'Issue no.18'* [No date - 9th September 1970 BLPES]

"Issue No.18 is a local special produced by our friends at Goodmayes, including:"
John Singleton, **Owen Bishop**, Dorothy Bishop, **Ian Nicholls**, **Deborah Bicknell**, **Peter Singleton**, **Pat Clarke**, **Jill Gardener**, The Caretaker
With the help of RR people:
Jonathan Carpenter, Dave Poolman, Jan Hammond, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Viv

Broughton, David Hart, Leonardo Brown

19) '*No 19*' [No date - 19 October 1970 BLPES]

"We are:"
Dorothy Bishop, Viv Broughton, Leonardo Brown, John Careswell, Mike Carr, Jill Green, Jan Hammond, David Hart, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Dave Poolman, Mike Sheppard, Ralph Smith

20) '*Issue No 20*' [No date - 9th November 1970 BLPES]

"Issue No. 20 out of:"
Leonardo Brown, Viv Broughton, **Steve Cooper, Nick Coulson**, Jill Green, Jan Hammond, David Hart, **Alison Kendall**, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Dave Poolman, Mike Sheppard, **Martin Smith**, Ralph Smith, **Mary Tucker, Missus** and **Popeye**
Cover: **Len Garrison**
In the US: Melinda York

21) '*Issue no 21*' [No date - 6th January 1971 BLPES]

"Issue No. 21 out of:"
Viv Broughton, Leonardo Brown, Mike Carr, Nick Coulson, Jill Green, Jan Hammond, David Hart, Alison Kendall, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Dave Poolman, Mike Sheppard, Ralph Smith
In the US: Melinda York

22) '*Issue No 22*' *UPS* [No date - 12th January 1971 BLPES]

"Issue 22 out of:"
Jan Barber, Dorothy Bishop, Viv Broughton, Mike Carr, Steve Cooper, Nick Coulson, Jill Green, Jan Hammond, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Mike Sheppard, Martin Smith, **Vicki Rivere**, Dave Hart, Ralph Smith
In the US: Melinda York

23) '*Issue 23*' *UPS*CHURCH* [No date - 29 March 1971 BLPES]

"Issue No. 23 out of:"
Peter Jones, Viv Broughton, Leonardo Brown, Mike Carr, Steve Cooper, Nick Coulson, Jill Green, Jan Hammond, David Hart, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Dave Poolman, Mike Sheppard, **Simon Wilkie**, Larry Law
In the US: Melinda York

24) '*Issue 24*' *UPS*CHURCH* [No date - 22nd April 1971 BLPES]

"Issue 24 was produced by:"
Dorothy Bishop, Owen Bishop, Viv Broughton, Leonardo Brown, **Jacqui Calnan**, Mike Carr, Steve Cooper, Nick Coulson, **Graham Dowell**, Jill Green, **Nigel Grey**

Turner, Janette Hammond, David Hart, Frances Loe, Eric Loe, David Poolman, John Singleton, Martin Smith, Ralph Smith, **Walter from Glasgow**, **Tara** and **Daniel**
In the US: Melinda York

25) '*Issue 25*' *UPS*CHURCH* [No date - 15th May 1971 BLPES]

[No titles:]
Kaspar Von Arx, **Regular Von Arx**, Viv Broughton, Jacqui Calnan, Steve Cooper, Nick Coulson, Graham Dowell, **Betty Hagglund**, David Hart, Jan Hammond, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Ralph Smith, Martin Smith, Nigel Grey Turner
In the US: Melinda York

26) '*Issue 26*' *UPS*CHURCH* [No date - 7th June 1971 BLPES]

"Issue 26 out of:"
Regula von Arx, Viv Broughton, Leonardo Brown, Jacqui Calnan, Steve Cooper, Nick Coulson, Jill Green, Betty Hagglund, Jan Hammond, David Hart, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, Martin Smith, Simon Wilkie, Graham Dowell
In the US: Melinda York

27) '*Issue 27*' *UPS* CHURCH* [No date - 6th July 1971 BLPES]

"Issue 27 out of:"
Viv Broughton, Jacqui Calnan, Mike Carr, Steve Cooper, Nick Coulson, Graham Dowell, Jill Green, Jan Hammond, David Hart, Eric Loe, Frances Loe, **Rens van Ruiten**, Martin Smith, Ralph Smith
In the US: Melinda York

28) '*Issue 28*' *UPS*CHURCH* [No date - 6th September 1971 BLPES]

"Issue 28 out of:"
Peter Andrews, Barry Brown, Viv Broughton, Jacqui Calnan, Nick Coulson, Steve Cooper, Jan Hammond, Larry Law, Frances Loe, Eric Loe, Martin Smith, Daniel and Tara
In the US: Melinda York

29) '*Issue 29*' *UPS*CHURCH* [No date - 11th October 1971 BLPES]

"Issue 29 out of:"
Peter Andrews, Barry Brown, Viv Broughton, Jacqui Calnan, Nick Coulson, Graham Dowell, Jan Hammond, David Hart, **John Lyons**, Ralph Smith, Martin Smith
In the US: Melinda York

30) '*Issue 30*' *UPS*CHURCH* [No date - 9th November 1971 BLPES]

"Issue No. 30 out of:"
Barry Brown, Viv Broughton, Jacqui Calnan, Nick Coulson, Jill Green, Jan

Hammond, Ralph Smith, Nigel Grey-Turner, **John Webster** and **Glenda**
In the US: Melinda York
[Note: *This is the last issue produced solely by the London collective*]

31) '*Issue 31*' *UPS*CHURCH* [No date - 4th February 1972 BLPES]

"Issue 31 out of:"
John Webster, Martin Smith, **Rick & Mary Seccombe, Guy & Alix Otten, Tony O'Mahony**, Jan Hammond, Jill Green, Nick Coulson, Jacqui Calnan, Viv Broughton, **Barbara Blackwell**
[Note: *This issue co-produced by the London and Manchester collectives*]

32) '*Issue 32*' *UPS* February 1972

"Issue 32 put together by:"
Mark Ashmore, Barbara Blackwell, **Fran Jackson**, **Paul Morris**, Tony O'Mahony, Guy & Alix Otten, Rick & Mary Seccombe and **Glen Heller** (faces)
[Note: *This is the first issue produced entirely by the Manchester collective. All subsequent issues up until issue no.56 were also produced in Manchester.*]

33) '*Issue 33*' March 1972

"Issue 33 put together by:"
Adrian Otten, Alix & Guy Otten, Barbara Blackwell, Fran Jackson, Mark Ashmore, Mary & Rick Seccombe, Paul Morris, **Richard Bartholomew** & Tony O'Mahony

34) '*Issue 34*' [No date - 18th April 1972 BLPES]

"Issue 34 Collective...April 1972"
Tony O'Mahony, Paul Morris, Mary & Rick Seccombe, Mark Ashmore, Fran Jackson, Barbara Blackwell, Alix & Guy Otten, **Rod and Joany Smith & Simon Mahoney**

35) '*Issue 35*' [No date - 16th May 1972 BLPES]

"Issue 35 collective May 1972"
Rod & Joany Smith, Fran Jackson, Guy & Alix Otten, Mark Ashmore, **Dave Adams**, Rick & Mary Seccombe, **Jenny Adams**, **Paul Morris** & **Lea**

36) '*Issue 36*' [No date - 5th June 1972 BLPES]

"No. 36 collective June 1972"
Mary & Rick, Mark, Guy, Alix, Paul, **John Roussel**, **Sue Hodgson**, Gypsy Dave, Barbara

37) '*Issue 37*' [No date – 18th July 1972 BLPES]

Ian, Mary & Rick, Joany, Rod, Sue, Paul, **Michèle**, Mark, Alix and Guy, and others

38) *'Issue 38'* [No date – 29th August 1972 - BLPES]

"Issue 38 collective: Sept 1972"
Dave Adams, Mark Ashmore, Richard Bartholomew, **Tim Godfrey**, **Roger** & Fran **Jackson**, **Norman Letchford**, Paul Morris, Tony O'Mahony, Guy & Alix Otten, Mary & Rick Seccombe, **Paul Roberts**

39) *'issue 39'* [No date – 2nd October 1972 - BLPES]

"Issue 39 was put together by:"
Tony O'Mahony, Rod Smith, Mark Ashmore, Joany Smith, **Janice Kay**, **Janet Brown**, Guy Otten, Fran Jackson, Dave Adams, **Colin Archer**, Alix Otten, & all the collaters, staplers, and packers.
Oct. 72

40) *'issue 40'* [No date – 16th November 1972 - BLPES]

"Issue 40 was put together by:"
Dave Adams, Janice Kay, **Corrina Kay**, Tony O'Mahony, **Ali Thomas**, Guy Otten, Alix Otten, **Mike Brennan**, Colin Archer, Rod Smith, Mark Ashmore, **Mick Chandler**
November 1972

41) *'issue 41'* [No date – 6th December 1972 – BLPES]

"Issue 41 December 1972 Put together by:"
Mark Ashmore, Tony O'Mahony, Alix Otten, Sue Hodgson, Colin Archer, Mike Brennan, Mick Chandler, Guy Otten, Ali Thomas, Fran Jackson

42) *'issue 42'* [No date – 6th February 1973 – BLPES]

"issue 42 put together by:"
Mick Chandler, Guy Otten, **John Longstaff**, Janice Kay, Mark Ashmore, Coline Archer, Tony O'Mahony, Corrina Kay, Alix Otten, Norman Letchford, **Galdwin**, Joany Smith, **Graham Paterson**, Rod Smith

43) *'issue 43'* "*Roadrunner is a member of the Underground Press Syndicate*" [No date – 26th march 1973 – BLPES]

"Issue 43 March 1973 Put together by:"
Norman Letchford, Sue, Mike Brennan, Dave, Tony O'Mahony, Janice Kay, Corrina Kay, Guy Otten, Alix Otten, Rod, Joany, Mark Ashmore, **Tom Richens**,

John, Mick

44) *'issue 44'* *"member of the Underground Press Syndicate"*
[No date – 9th May 1972 – BLPES]

Rod & Joany, Rick & Mary, Mike Brennan, Jan & **Tid**, Mick Chandler, John Langstaffe (sic), Guy & Alix Otten, Tom Richens, Colin Archer, Mark Ashmore

45) *'issue 45'* [No date – 11th June 1973 – BLPES]

"Produced by a collective from Brundretts Road, Manchester"

46) *'46'* [No date – 17th July 1973 – BLPES]

"Produced by a collective from Brundretts Road, Manchester."

47) *'47'* [No date – 28th August 1973 – BLPES]

"Produced by a collective from Brundretts Road, Manchester."

48) '48' [No date – 2nd October 1973 – BLPES]

"Produced by a collective from Brundretts Road, Manchester."

49) *'49'* [No date – 29th October 1973 – BLPES]

"Produced by a collective from Brundretts Road, Manchester."

50) *'50'* [No date – 3rd December 1973 – BLPES]

"Produced by the usual crowd with a little help from our friends, **Di**, Viv, Jill, etc."

51) *'51'* [No date – 13th February 1974 – BLPES]

"*RR is a member of Alternative Press Syndicate*" [No editors listed]

52) *'52'* [No date – 9th April 1974 – BLPES]

[No editors listed]

53) *'53'* [No date – 13th May 1974 – BLPES]

[No editors listed]

54) *'54'* [No date – 26th June 1974 – BLPES]

[No editors listed]

55) '55' [No date – 14th October 1974 – BLPES]

[No editors listed]
[Note: *This is the last issue produced by the Manchester Collective*]

56) '56' [No date – 14th January 1975 – BLPES]

"Issue 56 Jan 75"
This issue put together by:
Colin Archer, **Mal Shepherd**, **Nick Young**, Rick and Mary Seccombe, Tim Richards, **Peter Philippson**, and trusty friends
[Note: *The final five issues were produced in Bethnal Green, London*]

57) *'issue 57'* [No date – 21st March 1975 – BLPES]

[No editors listed]

58) *'issue 58'* [No date – 27th May 1975 – BLPES]

[No editors listed]

59) '59' [No date – 9th September 1975 – BLPES]

"RR59 by:"
Martin, Chris, Ruth, Mic Morgan, helped by Desmond Hunter, Jonathan Hunter, Jonathan Brazier, Stephan Ball, Celia Brown

60) *'issue 60'* [No date – 30th December 1975 – BLPES]

[No editors listed]
[Note: *This was the final issue ever produced.*]

APPENDIX TWO:

WICK – MEMBERS OF 'RESIDENT COMMUNE': 1974 – 1979

[Taken from information in the SCM archives. This list is probably not exhaustive, since the nature of the 'experiment in community' was such that there would have been many others who lived at Wick, if only for a few weeks/months during these years. It does however list the 'core' members of the 'resident commune', and indicate some of the fluidity that existed in terms of personal relationships.]

1974-5
Marika + Zak; Richard Fox; Jill McGuire; Viv + Jan + Dan + Matthew; John + Nimi Furtado; Mary Condren + Richard "Zip" Zipfel; Coun + Kate; Adrian

1975-6
Marika + Viv; Nimi; Zip + Anne Barker + Mick Turton; Dave Sinclair; Conrad; Angela + Steve

1976-7
Markia + Zip; Anne + Mick; Dave Snowden; Viv; John O'Leary; Angela + Steve

1977 –8
Marika + Zip; Dave + Sheila; Bernard; Steve + Mandy; Sam + Molly + Kate; Louise + Patrick; Tricia + Mike; Linda; Denny; Luke; + 1 other (illegible)

1978-9
Marika + Jill; Rosie + Derek; Tim + Neil; Linda + Eelco

APPENDIX THREE:

CHURCH IN ACTION:

Anti-Vietnam War demonstration staged on Good Friday 1967 outside a church in Newbury.

APPENDIX THREE (continued):

CHURCH IN ACTION:

The Moscow Three

MOSCOW AIRPORT JUNE '68: John Careswell, Viv Broughton and Janette Hammond being deported from the Soviet Union following the CHURCH demonstration in Myakovsky Square. Secret police had arrested the three when they handed out leaflets declaring solidarity with persecuted writers and Baptists in the Soviet Union. This project hit headlines around the world and may have had a considerable effect within the U.S.S.R. itself, prompting Izvestia to denounce us as 'shameful hooligans'.

APPENDIX THREE (continued):

CHURCH IN ACTION:

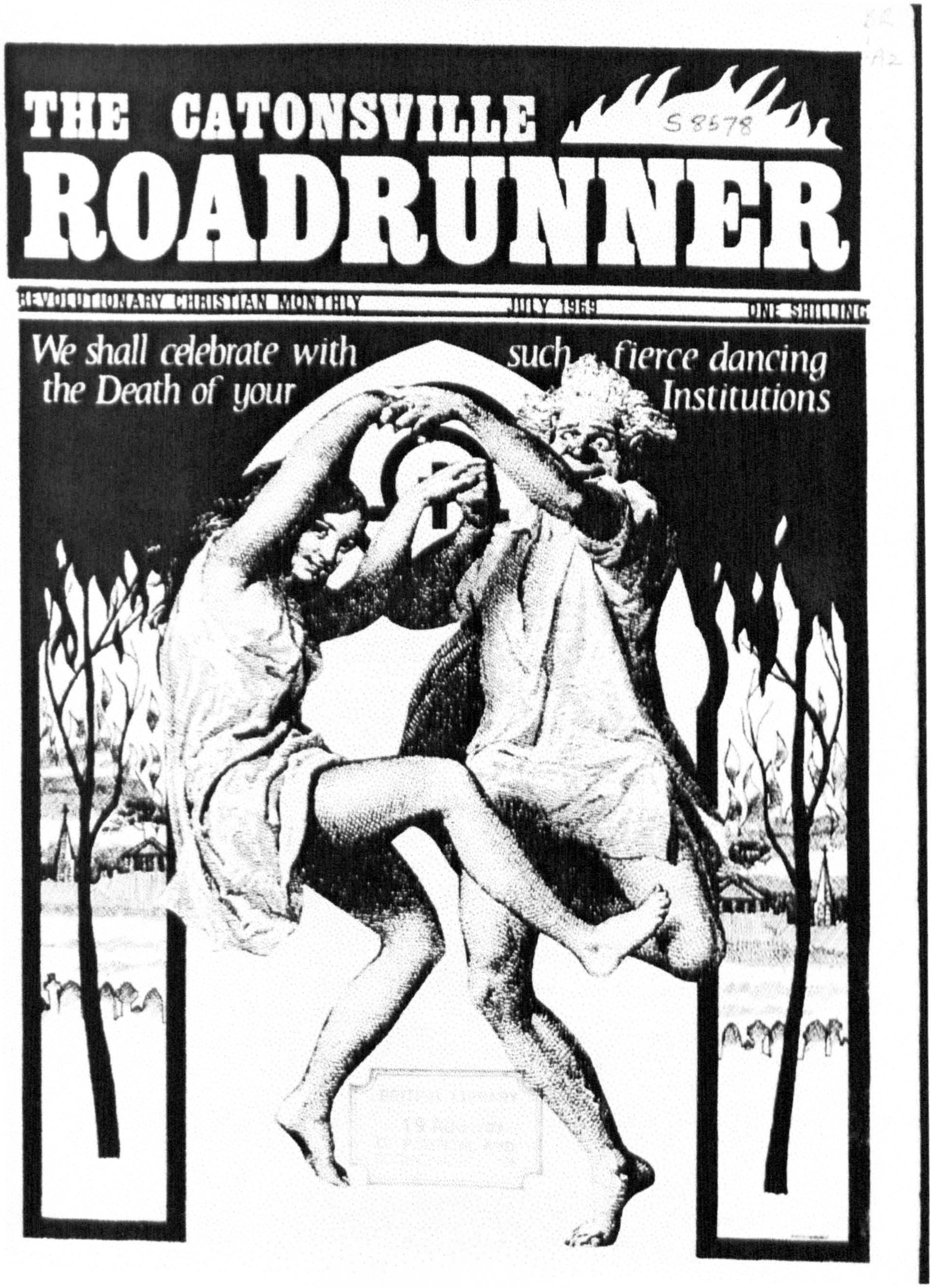
Protest at St. Paul's Cathedral *ROADRUNNER* No.19 – October 1970

APPENDIX FOUR:

Front cover *Roadrunner* No 1.

APPENDIX FIVE:

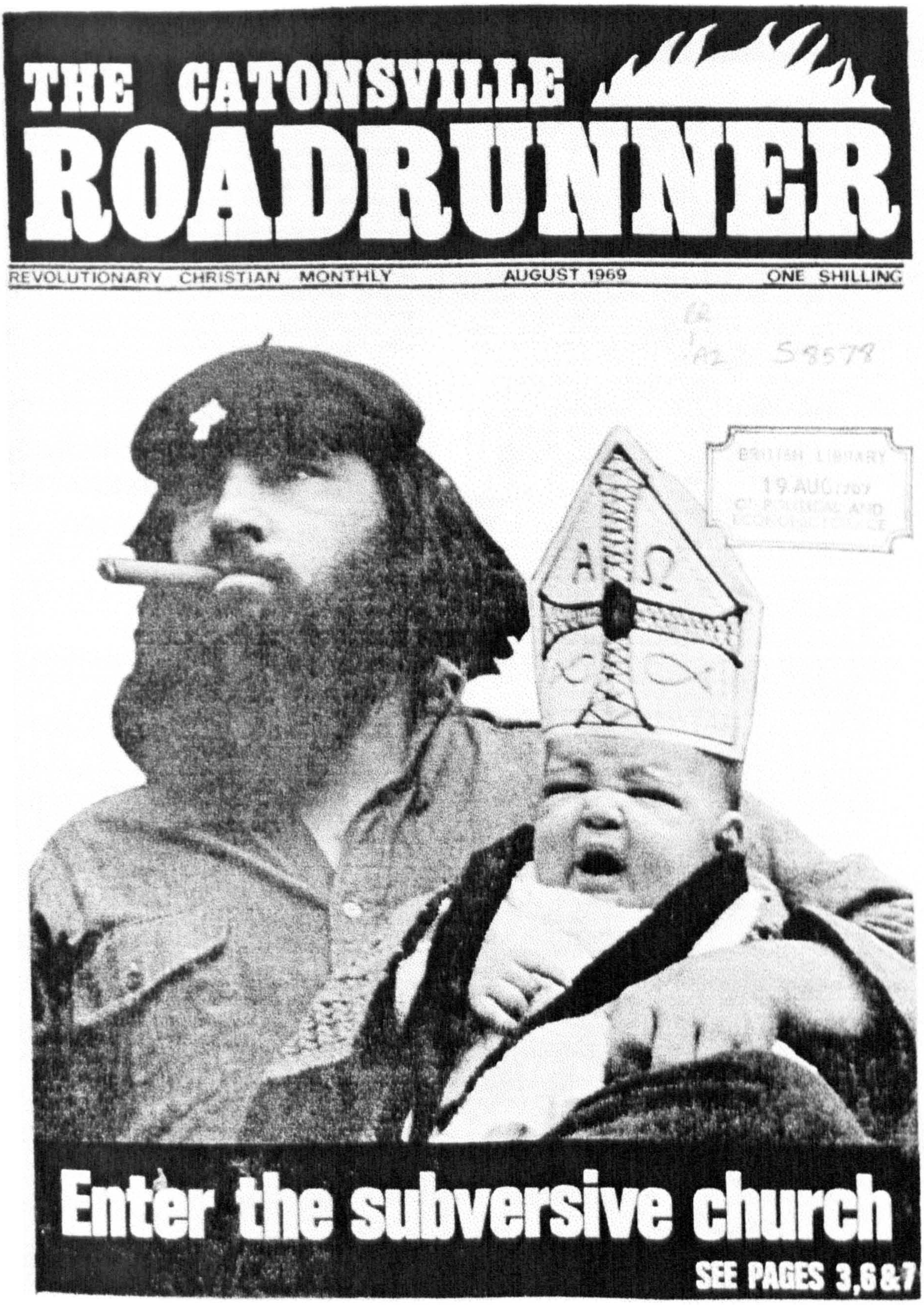
Front cover – *Roadrunner* No. 4



APPENDIX SIX:

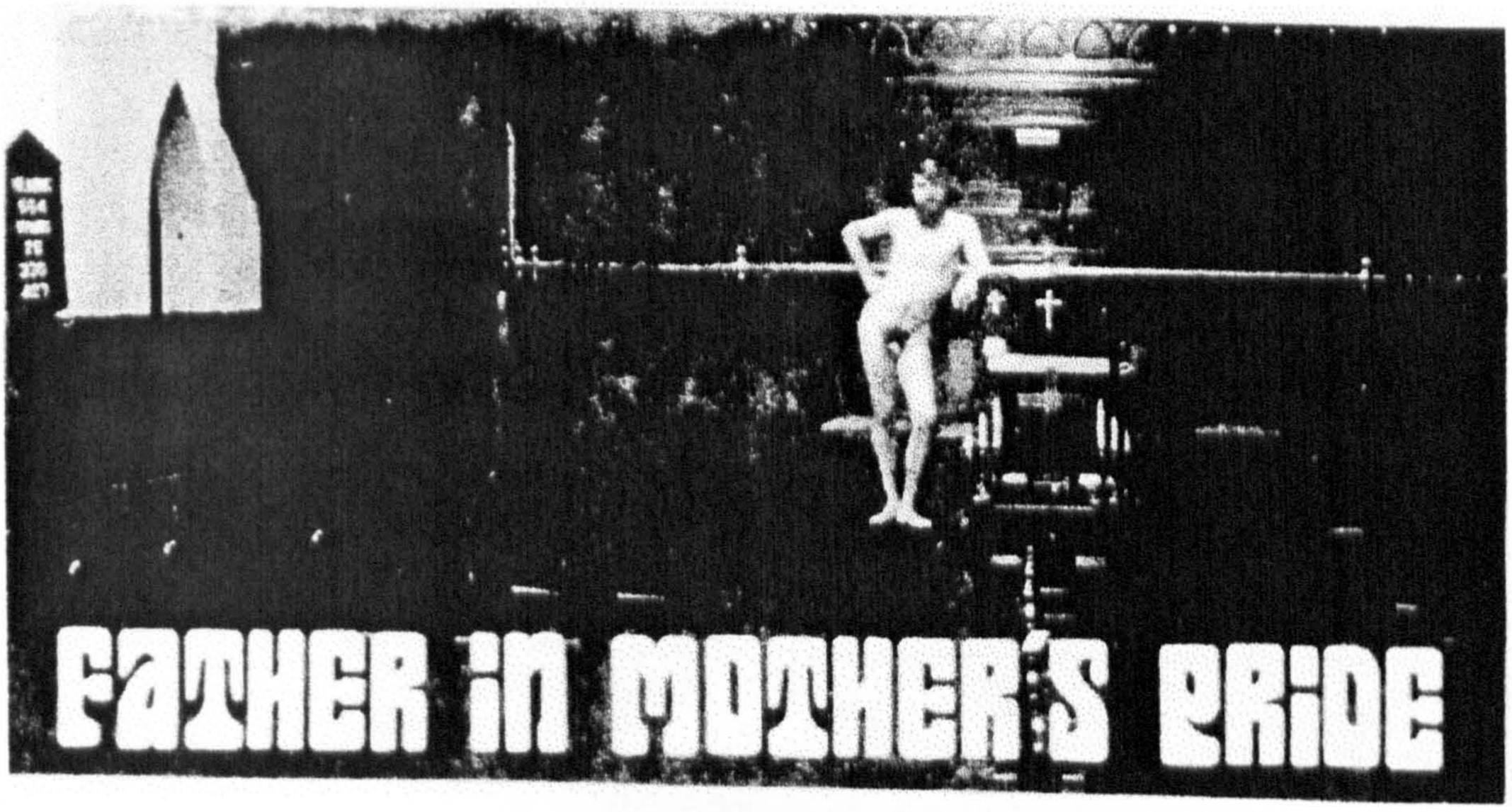
Front cover *Roadrunner* No. 5

David Hart as Che Guevara.



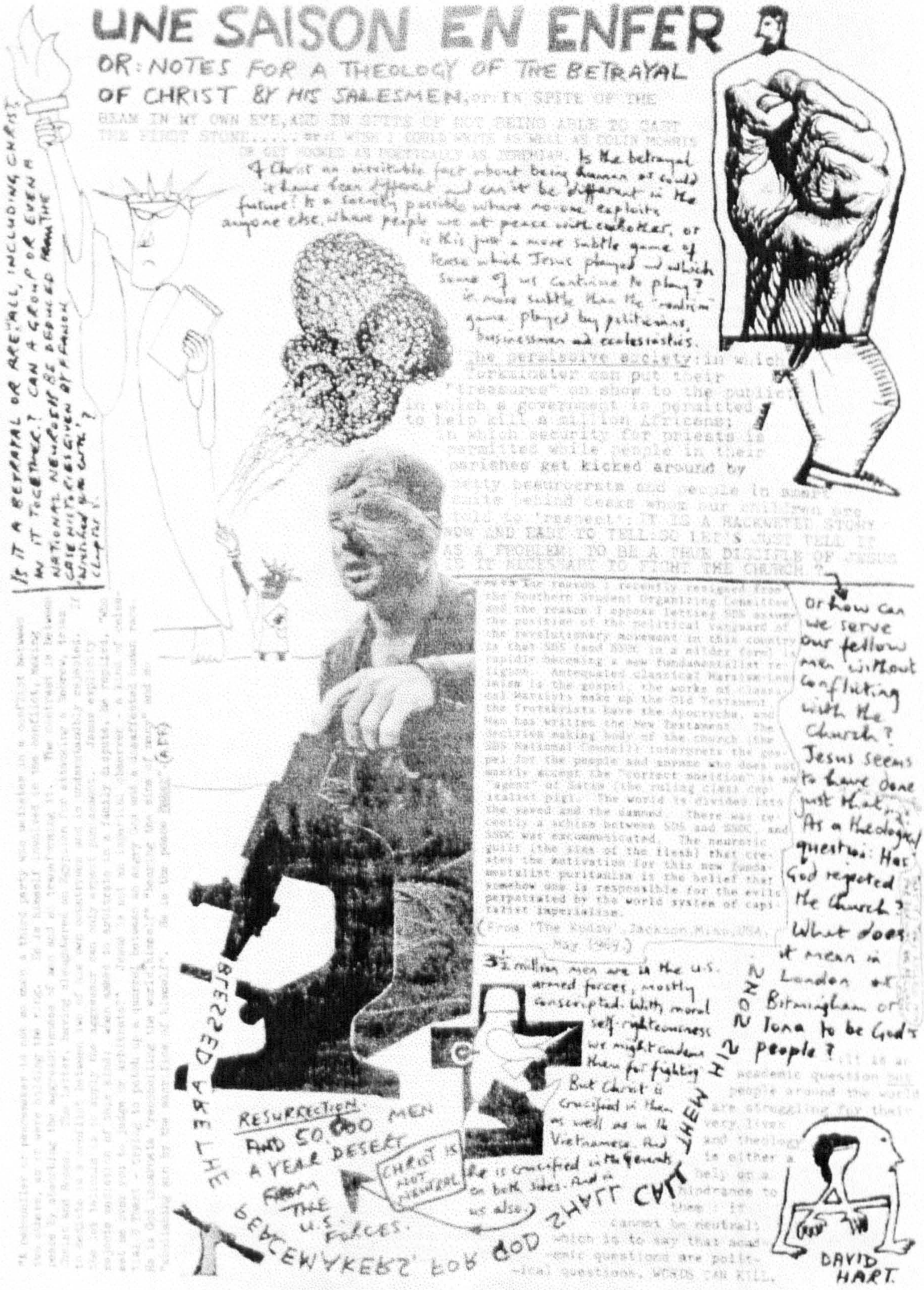
APPENDIX SEVEN:

David Hart naked in front of an altar at St. Michael's, Highgate
***Roadrunner* No. 7**



APPENDIX EIGHT:

Montage by David Hart from *Roadrunner* no. 9



APPENDIX NINE:

David Hart's *Gods and* Sods column from *Roadrunner* No. 19

At a couple of weeks' notice I happily accepted an invitation to speak to the joint Sixth Form society of the George Dixon Schools in Birmingham. The invitation came informally and was agreed for Sept. 18th. On the 12th the same person who had invited me phoned to say that the headmistress of the girls' school had vetoed me and I wouldn't be able to come. He added apologetically that he had no clear reasons for this.
On the 14th (a Monday) I phoned the headmistress, Miss Taylor, and asked for her reasons. She said she'd read about me in the newspapers a year or so ago and wasn't prepared to have such a person in her school. I asked what it was in particular that had upset her and she offered me only: 'I've not got the newspapers in front of me at the moment' and 'You know what I'm referring to'. When pressed further she changed her ground to such things as: 'The decision to invite you wasn't democratically arrived at; the boys decided and the girls were only told later' (which was not true; there were at least as many girls as boys present at the official committee meeting and the decision was democratically taken); or: 'A mistress has to present at these meetings and none are willing to give up their spare time to come to a meeting addressed by you'; or: 'The invitation was at too short notice; with longer notice I could have consent forms sent out to parents; these girls are under 18 and I am responsible for them unless their parents give written consent for them to come to a meeting addressed by you'. Add to this such questions as 'What would happen if I were to 'devestate' some of her girls?, and you have a picture of something less than libertarian education.

Now it isn't specially important whether I personally go there or not (Andrew Faulds and an unspecified CND speaker have been similarly vetoed); but the fact that such a situation exists at all and that the pupils themselves should be, as they are, afraid of exposing or opposing it, this is not to be shrugged off lightly. This was for me the most miserable aspect of the whole business, that conditioning has already been so successful that the pupils are accepting this autocracy even though they know it is doing violence to their real needs and wishes.

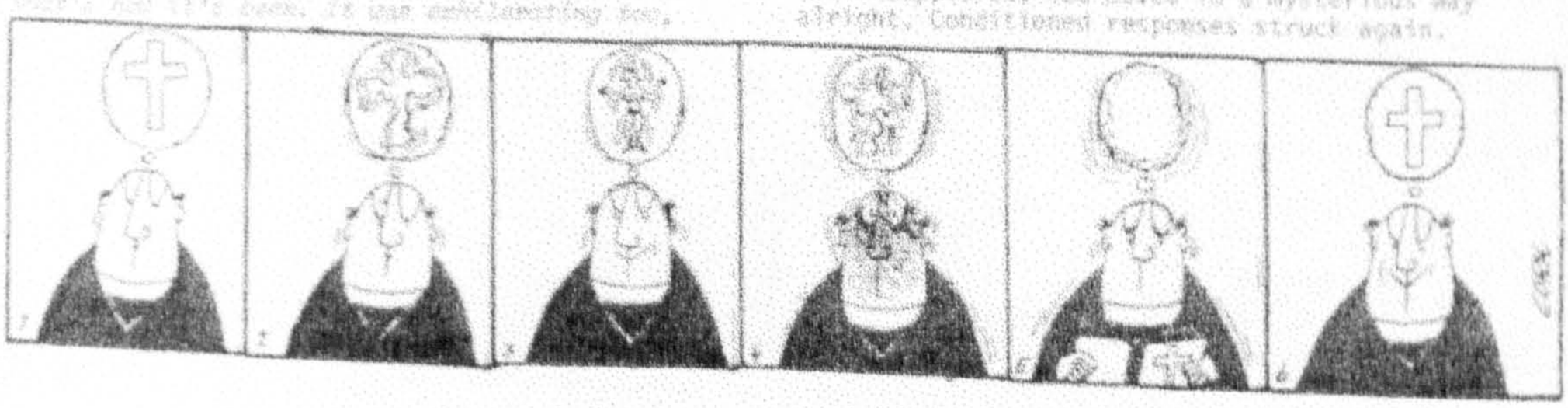
I'm going to write about miserable experiences but won't, now it's done. It was exhilarating too.

though, to be in the company of the twenty or so people who, with one share each, attended the General Electric Company's annual shareholders' meeting in the ballroom of the Park Lane Hotel on Sept. 19th. An legitimate business we tried to get an unequivocal reply from the chairman (Lord Nelson, using only his blind word to the question: 'Is the Board to display which you manufacture being used by U.S. forces to kill Vietnamese people or isn't it?'

From the room which jeered round the room at the first mention of Vietnam it was clear that they didn't know (and/or didn't want to know). It was a classic case of doublespeak, with the chairman knowing he could lie or half-lie and that his faithful sheep would support him. Because he had no answer for us he started to call us disruptive; because he couldn't deal with us as legitimate shareholders, which we were, he started to call us demonstrators; because he couldn't take us seriously he began to laugh at us and the sheep laughed too, because he couldn't admit to making money out of killing people he started to accuse us of interfering with freedom of speech. Again, one of the most frightening and depressing things was that not one of the other shareholders supported us, not even to the extent of recognising that we were asking a legitimate (not to say moral) question and receiving no reply.

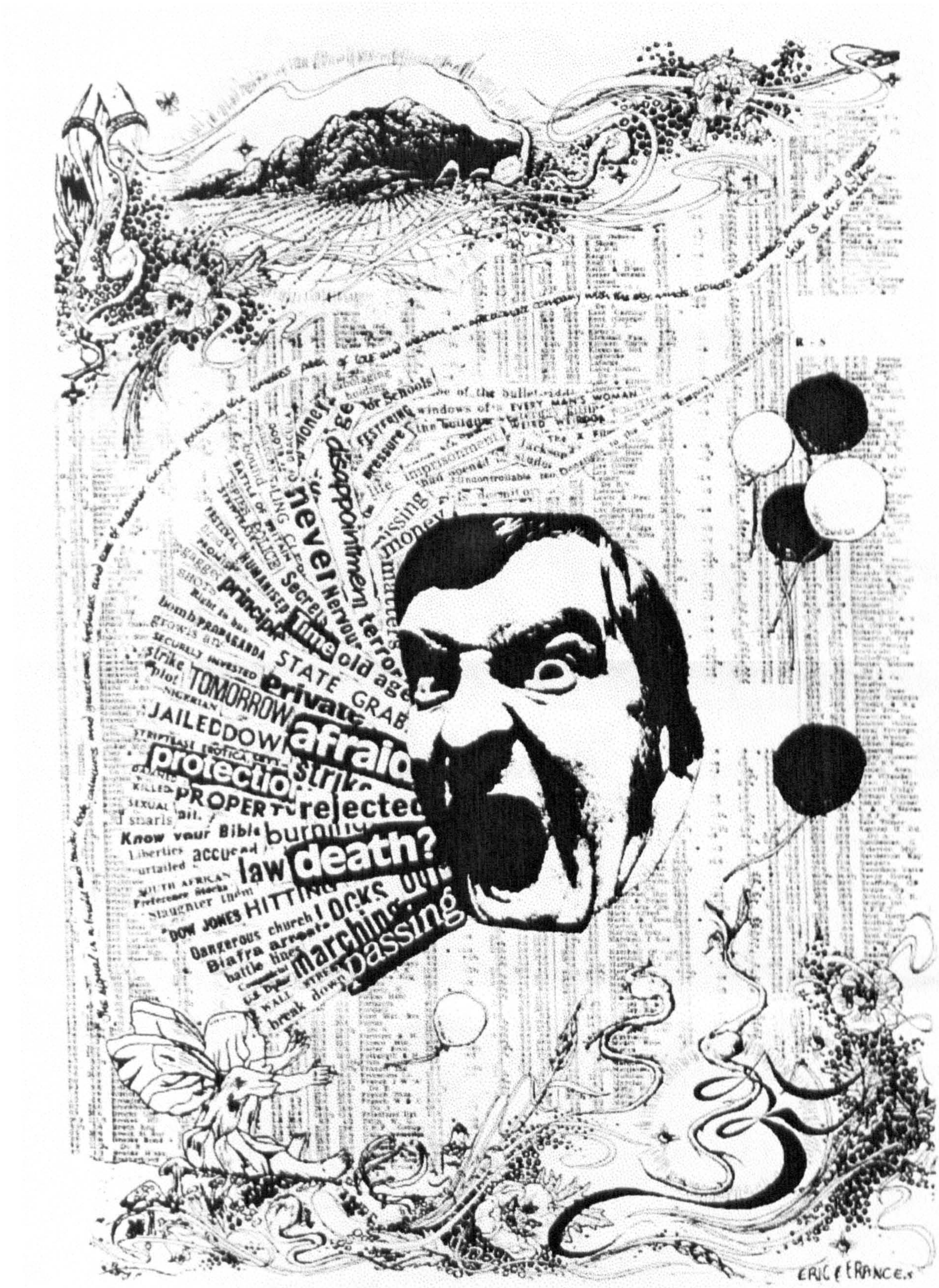
So money, people, as the chairman said explicitly in his prepared statement, is what the game's all about. As he rightly said, 'Everyone's entitled to his or her own opinion.' We were there to remind them, though, that their particular views are having murderous effects far outside their own miserly little heads.

At the conference of University Chaplains at Swanwick earlier in the month someone had put up two notices at the entrance to the chapel. The first read: 'What is God like?', and the second answered it: 'She is black and smokes a cigar'. People commented on this and smiled at it. During the next day I went and changed the second notice to read: 'She is black and smokes hash'. The next time I went to the chapel both notices had disappeared. God moved in a mysterious way alright. Conditioned responses struck again.



APPENDIX TEN:

Untitled montage by Eric and Frances Loe – *Roadrunner No.* 15

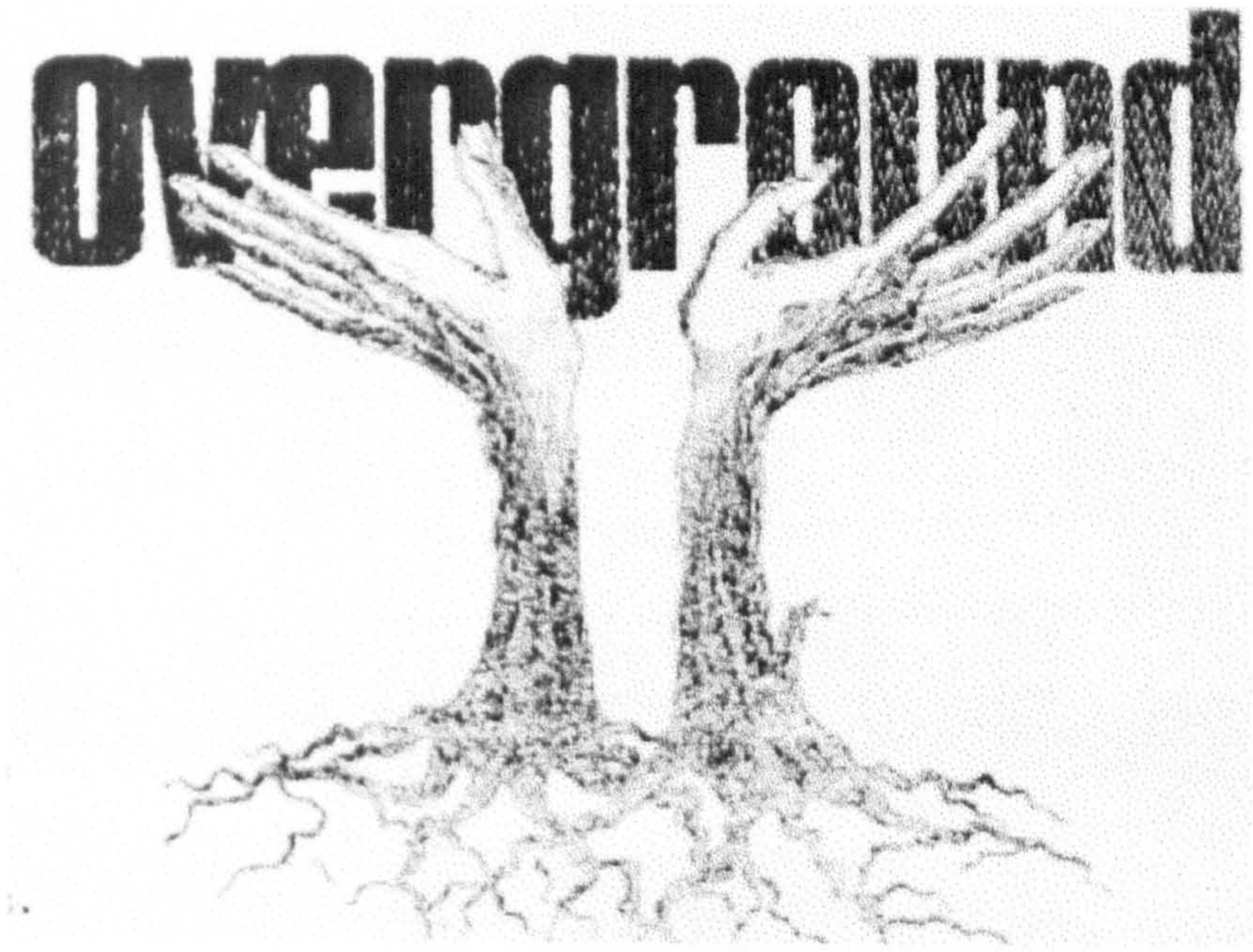


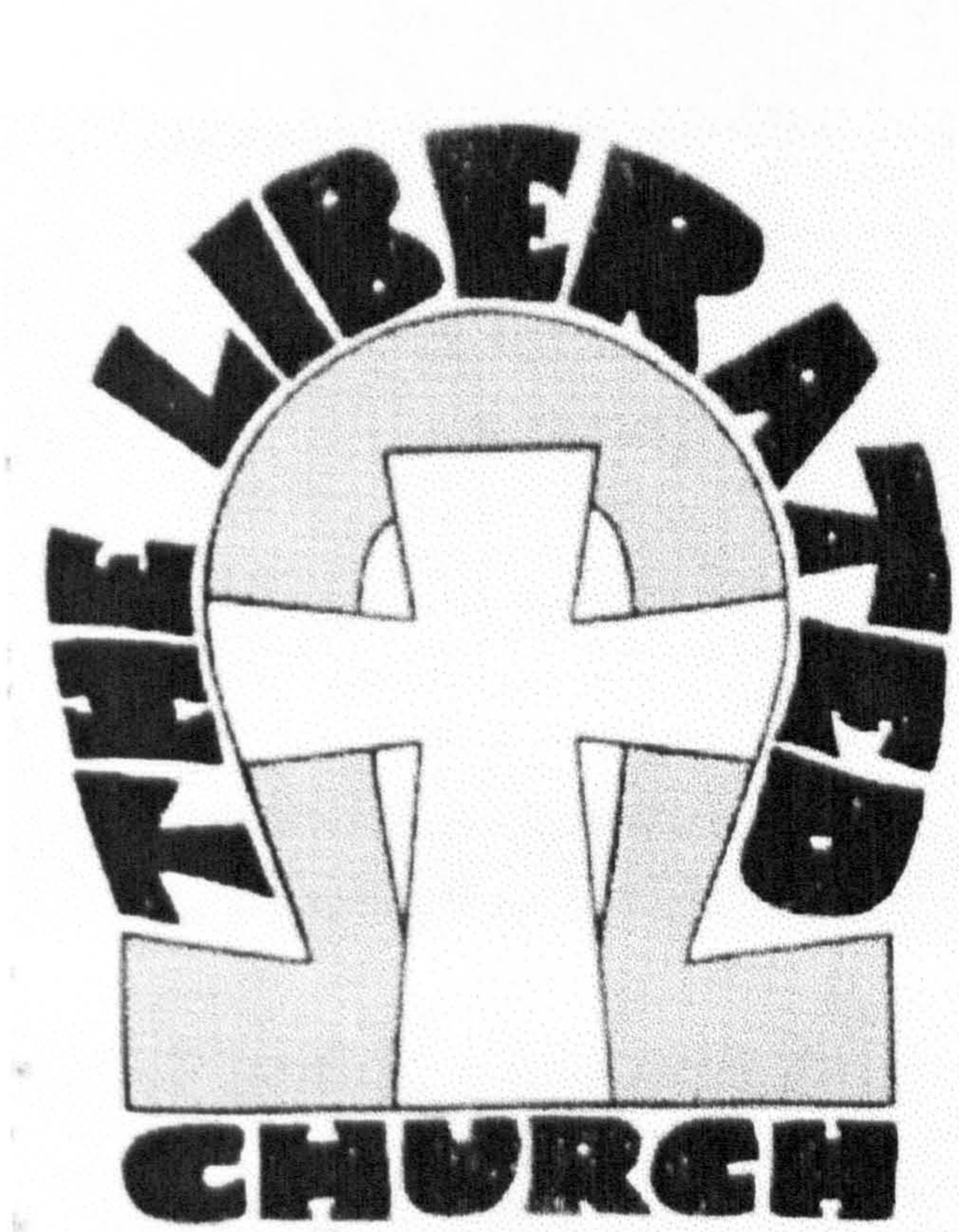
APPENDIX ELEVEN:

The Underground/Overground/Liberated Church: Various logos

APPENDIX ELEVEN (continued):

The Underground/Overground/Liberated Church: Various logos





APPENDIX TWELVE:

Wick Court – the SCM 'experiment in community' 1974

APPENDIX THIRTEEN:

PINCH OF SALT Summer 1989:

A re-working of the *Roadrunner* cover from July 1969, with the faces of Margaret Thatcher and Neil Kinnock superimposed on the original image.